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FOUR DECADES OF CATHOLICISM IN TEXAS

1820-1860

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE CATHOLIC SISTERS COLLEGE OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SISTER MARY ANGELA FITZMORRIS, A. M.

OF THE

Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas

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TO

REVEREND MOTHER MARY PHILOTHEA

SUPERIOR GENERAL

OF THE

SISTERS OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE

PREFACE.

The purpose of this monograph is to show the religious conditions of the Catholic Church in Texas from the opening up of the territory to colonization in 1820 to the beginning of the Civil War. The theme is by no means exhausted. Social history offers certain disadvantages which are hard to overcome. The facts are obscure and the materials frequently inaccessible. The episcopal archives of Monterey which undoubtedly would have thrown light on the earlier years are practically lost to the Church. Apart from this, the study is based on reliable sources: annals, archives, personal collections, records and letters.

For assistance in the collection of material for this work the writer wishes to express her appreciation of the courtesies extended to her by Miss Harriet Smithers, archivist of the Texas State Library, and to Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher, archivist of the University of Texas Library. Special thanks are due to the Reverend Charles L. Souvay, C. M., D. D., of Kenrick Seminary, Webster Grove, Missouri, and to the Reverend John Edward Hickey, Ph. D., of Detroit, Michigan, for the loan of valuable material. To various others, too numerous to mention, not the least among whom are the Superiors of her Congregation, whose interest and suggestions have aided her, she here tenders her gratitude.

The author wishes to acknowledge her special obligation to Richard Joseph Purcell, Ph. D., Associate Professor of History at the Catholic University of America, under whose scholarly guidance this work was made possible. Thanks are also due to the Reverend Patrick William Browne, S. T. D., and the Reverend Edwin Ryan, S. T. D., both of the Catholic University of America, who read the manuscript and who offered helpful suggestions.

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FOUR DECADES OF CATHOLICISM IN TEXAS
1820—1860

CHAPTER I

The Secularization of the Missions

A historical sketch of the Church in Texas during this period, 1820 to 1860, could hardly be considered without some reference to her missions, partly, because they are the basis of future religious growth, partly, and more particularly too, that while in their special function as frontier institutions they had long since become inoperative, nevertheless, the secularization process begun in 1793 when the missions of Texas were quite active, was not completed until 1829.

The missionary period of Texas history was fraught with earnest efforts, noble deeds and heroic sacrifices. It rose, flourished and declined a century previous to the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States. At its decline there was ushered in a new era, more political and economic than religious, whose importance threatened to overshadow and even blot out the vestiges of a hundred years of trial and endeavor. The ruthless hand of time, the ravages of war, and the corrosive forces of nature shared in consigning the missions to oblivion.

The work of that period was not destined to remain unchronicled, for the field was opened anew by the researches of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. Traveling over every site of mission activity, penetrating into archives—living storerooms of a forgotten past—evaluating the documents found with the true perspective of a historian, he has done a monumental work. Nor does this non-Catholic writer hesitate to set down his unbiased judgment: "From the standpoint of the Church the

principal work of the missionaries was to spread the Faith, first, last and always."[1]

The missionaries' first task was to disseminate the Faith but it was by no means their only duty. In Spain and her colonial possessions the Church was under surveillance. As an instrument in the hands of the State, she served the State's interests. So, it happened that in Texas the sovereign's peculiar interest in addition to converting the Indian, was to hold in check the expansion of the over-ambitious French. This motive was strong enough to cause the mother country to finance the establishment of missions, which would be a protection to the frontier. In this the mission served its purpose. The primary aim at least of churchmen, instilling the rudiments of Christianity and training to habits of industry and right living, is generally regarded as rather unsuccessful. Its failure, though, may be traced to several sources. The climate with its seasons of drought, procrastination and lack of interest on the part of the home authorities, intervals of abandonment; infusion of migratory tribes receding before the advance of the American frontier and insufficient military assistance, each in turn had a share in preventing effectual work of Christianizing and civilizing the natives. Viewing the missions in this light, one is more impressed by their actual accomplishment rather than their partial failure. No less than eighteen establishments gave testimony to valiant endeavor. While the Indian as a race has passed away, through intermarriage with white colonists—a system practised by Latin races though rarely by Anglo-Saxons—native blood has been preserved, and presumably the seed of faith sown by the early missionary continues to live.

Ordinarily, the mission was to perform its special functions and raise the Indian to the status of citizenship in the short period of ten years. This system prevailed in the Spanish colonies of South America, but could hardly be considered applicable to the oscil-

[1] Bolton, Herbert E., *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 10.

lating system of activity in Texas. Spain, however, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was in a precarious position as a result of the French foreign policy and impending war. All her resources were needed at home. The expense of maintaining unnecessary garrisons, for each mission had some military protection, was a severe drain on an already impoverished treasury. Therefore she saw fit to suppress her missions in Texas.

As early as January 2, 1793 a decree secularizing the mission San Antonio de Valero was published.[2] This act may be considered a part of the administrative statute consolidating the two villages—San Fernando, the original settlement of people from the Canary Isles, and the presidio of San Antonio de Bexar. In substance, this law required all mission property to be surrendered into the hands of the civil authorities and a division and apportionment of the agricultural lands into the hands of the Indians entitled to receive them. In the process of exchange inventories of the property were presented and signed by the mission administrators and by the representatives of the government. Secular, instead of regular, priests were charged with the spiritual interests of the people. The missionaries under ordinary circumstances were assigned to new fields of activity. In some instances the number of secular clergy was insufficient and the religious remained performing functions in the mission chapels under the jurisdiction of diocesan authority. The transfer of the records of San Antonio de Valero was completed by June 1794, but Father José Francisco Lopez, the resident Franciscan, continued at the mission until the following year.[3] The Indians who still adhered to the establishment were removed to missions Concepción and San José, just below the town, and San Antonio de Valero became a quartering place for the troops of the company of San Carlos de Parras.

[2] Casteñada, C. E., *The San Antonio Archives*, p. 189; Yoakum, H., *History of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 457-459.

[3] Bancroft, H. H., *The North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, p. 635; Yoakum, Vol. I, p. 460.

This military village had its own chaplain until 1807,[4] from which time it was served by priests from Bexar.

On April 10, 1794, a royal decree, issued by Don Pedro de Nava, Commandant-general of the Northeastern-Internal Provinces, of which Texas was a part, secularized all the missions within his district.[5] There is little evidence to show that this act wrought any radical change in Texas. The disintegrating forces were outside the scope of laws. Gradually the number of followers was lessened. Lieutenant Pike in his report on Texas for 1807 observes that two missions in the vicinity of San Antonio [San Juan and Concepción] were depopulated and that the one where the missioner dwelt had an insignificant number of followers.[6] True, petitions for mission lands began to be filed as early as 1794 and extend beyond the period of secularization to 1834, but their number was never large and some of them never materialized into land grants.[7]

Similarly it may be assumed that the decree of the Spanish Cortes, 1813, had little effect upon the missions. Drastic, however, was the effect produced by the Spanish-Mexican revolution of that year. The Mexicans, though aided by American adventurers, failed. The loss of life, speaking in comparative terms, was large. San Antonio and the outlying country suffered severely. Nacogdoches, the extreme eastern frontier settlement, was abandoned before the approach of the royalists. Numbers of refugees found their way to the United States. Following these fleeing bands was Reverend Francisco Maynes, chaplain of the presidial company of Bexar, who continued to exercise his ministry in and around Natchitoches under faculties from the Bishop of Louisiana

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Casteñada, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[6] Pike Z. M., *Exploratory Travels through Western Territories*, p. 649.

[7] Casteñada, Mission Valero, pp. 189-200; Mission Espada, pp. 200-207; Mission San Juan, pp. 207-212; San Jose Mission, pp. 213-217; Concepción Mission, pp. 217-218.

until 1821.[8] While the missions in the vicinity of San Antonio naturally suffered a loss in native following, religion in Nacogdoches suffered an irretrievable loss. The church building passed out of the hands of the original owners.[9] When restoration did come after Mexican independence this town was peopled not by its former inhabitants but by Americans.[10]

Under the Mexican regime, a confirmation of the earlier secularization decrees came in the form of a new act September 15, 1823, suppressing the remaining active missions.[11] Seven missions came within the scope of this law: La Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan de Capistrano, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo and San Francisco de la Espada—were in the vicinity of San Antonio de Bexar, and Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Rosario and Refugio—were to the southeast in the lower San Antonio River valley. In the whole of Texas there were only two Franciscan priests in active service and according to available records not more than three secular priests. Father José Antonio Diaz de Leon, Franciscan from Zacatecas, Mexico, stationed at San José held the position of Provisional President of the missions.[12] A brother-companion was ministering to the needs of the missions on the lower San Antonio.

Father Diaz in acknowledging receipt of the instructions of secularization declared his inability to act without consulting his superiors and giving them information regarding the matter. This

[8] *Bexar Archives,* Antonio Martinez to Commandant General, Monterey, November 12, 1821.

[9] *Bexar Archives,* Ramón Musquiz to Alcalde of Nacog. Jan. 7, 1829; Ramon Musquiz to Gobernado del Estado, Jan. 30, 1831. *Nacogdoches Archives,* Jose de la Piedros to Alcalde D. José Ignacio Ybarro, March 15, 1829; R. Musquiz to Alcalde of Nacogdoches, April 1, 1829; Vicente Cordova to Gefe at Bexar, Jan. 7, 1830.

[10] *Bexar Archives,* Erasmo Seguin to Gov. Martinez, Aug. 19, 1821. Cited by Lester G. Bugbee—"The Texas Frontier" 1820-1825, p. 103. In *Southern History Association Publications,* March 1900.

[11] *Bexar Archives.*

[12] Father Diaz received his appointment June 5, 1820. *Bexar Archives.*

communication was followed by a second requesting a modification of the decision of the junta in regard to the missions near Bexar.[13] The Franciscan Fathers as a rule understood better than any one else the evils that must of necessity follow secularization and for that reason they usually protested. But protests were unavailing. Mexico for once was acting quickly. On November 19, José Antonio Saucedo received news from José Leon Lobo Guerrero, Canonical Doctor of the diocese of Monterey that the transfer was to be executed as soon as a reply could be obtained from the College of Zacatecas relative to the decree of September 15. Before the end of the year notification for the transfer was forwarded to the Political Chief. The transfer document, however, was not signed until February 19, 1824.[14] Thus the labors of the Franciscans around San Antonio came to an end, and the secular priests took over their works.

Secularization to the southeast was a somewhat slower process. The inhabitants on that frontier still felt the need of an advance guard or Indian buffer. The missionary stayed, and the circumstances under which he remained serve but to enhance his virtue. There was really only one important mission in this section, that of Refugio. Weighed in the balance continuance at this point amounted to nearly all loss and practically no gain. For several years no provision had been made to defray the expenses of the missionaries, nor were escorts furnished to assist in gathering and managing the Indians.[15] In 1822, the attendant Franciscan had petitioned the Governor to allow him to move to Bahía, and to transport thither all the movable property of the mission. While

[13] *Ibid.*, Father Diaz to José Antonio Saucedo, Oct. 23, 1823 and Nov. 3, 1823.

[14] *Ibid.*, See José Leon Lobo to Saucedo, Gefe Pol. Nov. 19, 1823; Father Diaz to Saucedo, Nov. 21, 1823; Lobo to Saucedo, Dec. 31, 1823, Yoakum, Vol. I, pp. 460-461. Parisot-Smith, *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio*, p. 55.

[15] *Nacogdoches Archives*, Translation of Historical Documents from the Archives of Bexar County (Jan. 17 to July 17, 1821), May 1, 1821, Anto. Martinez to José Angel Flores.

Governor Martinez saw no obstacle in the accomplishment of the plan, the Alcalde of Bahía did and raised a protest.[16] Charity begins at home. Refugio was the frontier community, if the small number of inhabitants could justify the use of such a term. At least it was a bulwark against the depredations of the coast Indians, and thus a protection to the more interior post of Bahía. The Governor, however, persisted in favor of the change unless something be pledged by the ayuntamiento to relieve the priest.[17]

Any one familiar with Spanish methods of management is likewise acquainted with the details involved in every act of administration. Every change of officials makes an old process new. The case in hand offers a fitting example. A change in governors started again lengthy correspondence.[18] To smooth over difficulties, the Ayuntamiento of Bahía assembled and discussed the reasons why Father Muro should remain at Refugio. A summary of the minutes was drawn up and forwarded to Governor Trespalacios. On the face of things the inducements to remain were laudable enough, but judging by results were worth little more than the paper on which they were written. The arguments advanced for the continuance of the mission were that help would be given in a short while, that it was necessary to have a resident priest to care for the Indian, and that means of subsistence would be guaranteed the missioner.[19] While the governor considered the promise a sufficient reason for delay, he took immediate measures to relieve the needs of the priest. Through the Commandant of Arms at Bahía, he forwarded from his own private funds fifty pesos. In reporting the result of his visit to Refugio the Commandant says in part: "This minister was deprived of all human help. Only his zeal and virtue enabled him to stand the desti-

[16] *Bexar Archives*, Alcalde of Bahía to Governor of Texas, Aug. 3, 1822.

[17] *Ibid.*, Gov. Martinez to Hernandez, Aug. 7, 1822.

[18] *Ibid.*, Juan José Hernandez to José Felix Trespalacios, Aug. 17, 1822; Ayuntamiento of Bahía to Governor, same date.

[19] *Ibid.*, Aug. 17-24, 1822.

tution in which he found himself. It is impossible for me to present to you the great miseries which the Padre of Mission Refugio suffered, living without the most necessary things to sustain his life."[20]

The neglected outpost became in the early part of the year 1824 a target for Comanche depredations and attacks, so that the priest was obliged to take refuge in Bahía. More than a year had elapsed since the promise of assistance had been made, and yet in the face of new trials no men could be detailed to go with Father Muro to Refugio. However, the newly appointed political chief of Bexar was a man of action. On hearing of the distressing conditions at the mission, he addressed a strong letter to the Alcalde of Bahía scoring the authorities and citizens of that place for failing to comply with their promises of aid.[21] Finally six men were furnished as a guard, but in view of the fact that they had to withstand hostile attacks from the most warlike of Indians, the mission was not much better off with such inadequate protection.[22]

There is an end to all endurance. The patience of Saucedo was exhausted and he ordered a removal of all the mission goods to Bahía.[23] The Indians thus left to roam at will became a menace to the Anglo-American settlements, and a reversal of the recent decrees was earnestly petitioned for during 1825.[24] These requests went through the usual routine of correspondence with little re-

[20] *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1822.

[21] *Ibid.*, Saucedo to Alcalde of Bahía, April 9, 1824.

[22] *Ibid.*, José Geranimo Huizar to "Gefe Politico," April 20, 1824.

[23] *Ibid.*, Saucedo to Alcalde, July 10, 1824. From this date forward the mission records show that, while Refugio was still attended by the priest, all the baptisms administered after July 9, 1824 were performed in the parochial church of Bahía. See *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, "Notes and Fragments," Vol. 14, p. 164. (This publication and *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* will be referred to in the following pages as *The Quarterly.*)

[24] *Bexar Archives*, Commandante General to Gefe Politico, July 29; Comisary to Ahumada, Aug. 4; J. A. Saucedo to Rafael Gonzalez, Aug. 7; Mateo Ahumada to Comisario Subalterno, Aug. 10; Gobernador del Obispado de Nuevo Leon to Rafael Gonzalez, Aug. 31; Answer to same Oct. 7.

sults. They serve to show that the last frontier still felt the need of the civilizing agency of the missionary. A communication of February 19, 1826 revealed the fact that the three missions near the Presidio of Bahía were still attended by the priests and that the missions lands had not been distributed because the Indians evinced no desire to occupy them.[25]

Father Muro's interest in Refugio never abated and it appears that he returned there as soon as the fear of the Comanches had subsided, but another raid in the spring of 1826 compelled him to withdraw. In March 1827 instructions were again forwarded to secularize these missions.[26] The zeal of the missioner is once more displayed by Father Diaz. He suggested that since secularization was considered a necessity one of the missions at least should be retained, namely, that of Refugio. His reasons, that the Indians on account of the uncivilized state in which they were still to be found were incapable of enjoying the rights of citizenship, of governing themselves, and of cultivating with proper utility the lands appropriated to them, seem worthy of consideration. His petition, however, found no weight with the Mexican authorities for final instructions for suppression arrived in the spring of 1829.[27] The page of mission history was closed. The two Franciscans, however, remained in Texas, finding occupation as parish priests.

[25] *Ibid.*, J. A. Saucedo to Rafael Gonzalez.

[26] *Ibid.*, Circular of April 27, 1827.

[27] *Ibid.*, Ramón Musquiz to Gobernador, March 30; same to Alcalde, April 1, 1829.

CHAPTER II

Texas: 1820–1836

The years 1820-1836 were a formative period in Texas history. They witnessed in the Spanish Southwest the breaking down of barriers centuries old. Two nationalities met, the one inured to a generation of republicanism, the other just emerging from the fetters of monarchism. The complexity was hard to reconcile. And reconciled it was not. Gradually at first and then precipitately, the gulf of differences widened into complete separation.

For a score of years in the beginning of the nineteenth century the attention of Americans had been directed towards Texas. Thither had the mustang lured Philip Nolan to his death in 1801. Over the same trail a host of adventurers followed. There our notorious Aaron Burr in his fathomless schemes had visioned a new empire. Mexico's struggle for independence had served as a beacon for Americans in the neutral ground, and recklessly but valiantly they followed it. Discontented with the treaty of 1819 James Long made a vain attempt to right the wrong and paid the penalty with his life. Just what political objective may have been back of Zebulon Pike's journey history has not recorded. Even Lallemand, French exile of Napoleonic disasters, looked to Texas for his champ d'asile.

Not only the daring adventurers sought entrance into Texas, but there were also colonists and colonizers who used just and equitable means in making settlements. Of such a type was the Reverend John Brady, a Carmelite of Botenkough [Pointe Coupee], Louisiana, who in 1806 petitioned the Spanish government for lands on which to settle fifteen hundred Catholic families. His project, however, was defeated by the Reverend Antonio de Sedella, a Capuchin friar of New Orleans. He strongly opposed the plan on the ground that in all likelihood "the emigrants would

not be Catholics'' or that while affecting to be such, they would not be in truth.[1] At least he so argued in writing the governor of Texas, Antonio Cordero. He even recommended that the government veto all designs of settlement in the province. Father Brady remained in Louisiana until about 1812 when he withdrew, seeing no possibility for the success of his colonizing venture and probably little reason in the official opposition.[2]

Apart from these isolated activities, American conditions turned attention to Texas. Foreign immigration was on the increase. Western lands were being rapidly utilized, and land hunger was unappeased. Economic and financial difficulties following the War of 1812 caused many to seek frontier lands where mortgages were unknown. Reasons for the western exodus could be multiplied but only in a suggestive way do they enter the scope of this work. Added to the foregoing, however, the final adjustment of the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase played a part in the scheme of Texas colonization.

An agent of Spain at the time of treaty negotiations with the United States was sent to Texas to examine conditions and give a detailed report. Certainly there was little attractiveness in the picture furnished. One section of the document gave a faithful account of the ''customs, habits, and modes of life'' of the chief Indian tribes. The number of natives, friendly and hostile, was estimated at about twelve thousand. The Cados, the largest tribe of friendly Indians, gave evidence of having an idea of the true God, and therein lay the possibility of their conversion. At the other extreme were the Comanche Indians charged with cannibalistic habits and certainly ''not reducible to the Catholic religion.''

In the whole large area, there were only the two small Spanish settlements of San Antonio de Bexar and Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and four well-constructed missions. The latter though in a state of decadence could be repaired at small cost. One of the missions,

[1] *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, Vol. III, pp. 283-284.
[2] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. III, p. 369, n.

that of San José, was the residence of the attending priests. The advantage of repairing and maintaining these mission centers was clearly seen by the agent who so suggested in his report.[3]

The draft forwarded from the Ayuntamiento of Bexar was of like tenor but perhaps local in tone. The rather unusual demands furnish a keen insight into the advanced and somewhat independent spirit developing in the frontier province with a population of scarcely three thousand white men. "Respectable and well-organized" troops to the number of five thousand to subdue the Indians and establish presidial garrisons for frontier protection, were wisely listed as the first demand. Reimbursement to the province for all governmental "supplies of grain, stock, and other things furnished" between the years 1813 and 1819 and the restitution of houses, fields, and other property confiscated from citizens who fled to the United States in 1813, argued well for financial justice. The distribution of abandoned mission lands and the opening up of the port of Matagorda that the inhabitants might have an opportunity to exchange their goods, supply their wants and destroy the "odious contraband trade" at its very roots, insured economic development. Religious affairs were not overlooked for it was urged that "proper salaries" for the priest in charge of the missions near San Antonio and for the two fathers serving the missions at Bahía be provided, in order that they might not be compelled at certain periods to abandon the missions. In the acquisition of these blessings they foresaw, and well they might, the beginning of prosperity, the happiness of the subjects and the welfare of the province.[4]

Reports were common in Spanish administration. The national archives abound in records of investigations. These two documents, however, were of vital interest. If the vast province to the northeast was to continue under Spanish suzerainty some-

[3] Report on the Barbarous Indians of the Province of Texas, translated by Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Texas in 1820," *The Quarterly*, Vol. 23, I, pp. 47-60.

[4] Report from Ayuntamiento of Bexar, *Ibid.*, II, pp. 61-68.

thing must be done and that quickly. Into the idea of settlement and expansion of internal facilities stepped the petitioner for lands in Texas.

Moses Austin, an enterprising character, had followed the western trail state by state from his native Connecticut to the last American outposts in Missouri. Beyond the frontier to the South lay a foreign country; thither he bent his steps, sought and obtained permission to settle a colony of Catholic citizens from Louisiana. Dying when fortune smiled on his enterprise his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, fell heir to his contract and continued with his colonizing schemes. Indeed Stephen Austin gained a premier place in the nation's builders and among empresarios was without a peer.

The conditions stipulated in the first grant furnish a fair idea of what the contracting parties had in mind in opening up Texas. In passing it must be remembered that the elder Austin was considered a Spanish subject through his residence in Louisiana in the period of the Spanish regime. Previous to 1798 Spain had shown herself very liberal towards prospective settlers in former French territory "provided they would abstain from building temples or meeting houses within the limits of the colony belonging to His Most Catholic Majesty."[5] They were not required to embrace Catholicism, but were to acknowledge it as the one public religion. After 1798 the following religious restriction was enacted: "Liberty of conscience is not to be extended beyond the first generation; the children of emigrants must be Catholic; and emigrants not agreeing to this must not be admitted, but removed even when they bring property with them. This is to be explained to settlers who do not profess the Catholic religion. It is especially recommended to commandants to watch that no preacher of any religion but the Catholic come into the province."[6] Austin

[5] Père Antonio, "Supreme Officer of the Holy Inquisition of Cartegena, in Louisiana," *The Catholic Historical Review*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 59.

[6] Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana*, pp. 276.

was no doubt familiar enough with the administrative demands of Spanish Mexico.

The following extract illustrates both sides of the agreement:

> It will be very expedient to grant the permission solicited by Moses Austin, that the three hundred families, which he says are desirous to do so, should remove and settle in the province of Texas, but under the conditions indicated in his petition on the subject, presented to the governor of that province, and which your lordship (usia) transmitted to this department, with your official letter of the 16th instant. Therefore, if to the first or principal requisite of being catholics, or agreeing to become so, before entering the Spanish territory, they also add that of accrediting their good character and habits, as is offered in said petition, and taking the necessary oath to be obedient in all things to the government; to take up arms in its defense against all kinds of enemies and to be faithful to the king; and to observe the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy; the most flattering hopes may be formed, that the said province will receive an important augmentation, in agriculture, industry, and arts, by the new emigrants, who will introduce them; which is all that this deputation have to say, in reply to your lordship's aforementioned official letter." [7]

It will be observed that to the religious principle inserted by Austin the government added the utilitarian clauses. Mexico was on the eve of independence. It may be that she felt some warmth of gratitude towards Americans who had often lent their arms and strength to replenish her weakened forces but she likewise felt the need of a strong bulwark against aggressors. Was her choice well made? Could she hope to divide people of a like culture, a common origin? What the experiment cost her is another story. The center of interest in this treatise is the religious clause.

Two weeks after the above document had been framed, Mexico threw off the yoke of allegiance to Spain. The Plan of Iguala, with one of its three guarantees establishing the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the country, is well known. It serves to illustrate that separation from Spain did not entail an overthrow of old traditions, any more than the American Revolution

[7] H. N. S. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, 1822-1897, Vol. I, pp. 25 ff.

erased the Anglo-Saxon traditions and institutions. Following precedents of three hundred years standing can hardly be construed as an arbitrary ruling. To the Anglo-American, one may say, this regulation was something novel. Americans are accustomed to point with pride, and rightly so, to the Constitution of the United States as an exemplar of toleration without realizing how slow was its development nor how long before the principle was adopted by all the states, or for that matter lived up to in practice in nation and states. Yet Justice Joseph Story in commenting on that particular point in the instrument observed:

"It was under a solemn consciousness of the dangers from ecclesiastical ambition, the bigotry of spiritual pride, and the intolerance of sects, thus exemplified in our domestic, as well as in foreign annals, that it was deemed advisable to exclude from the national government all power to act upon the subject. . . ." [8]

England had her established religion with its various restrictions and many of the original commonwealths long after their inception into the American Union had their petty state churches. In some instances, a motive for settling the Western Reserve could be traced to state restrictions in matter of religion.[9] Allegiance to Rome, which was neither then nor now fully understood by those outside the Church, generally furnished grounds for unfounded fears. But how did the prospective land seeker regard the clause? In the public prints of the day Americans became apprised of the special offers. From all sides Austin was besieged with questions. Some few were anxious about the religious requirement.

John C. Harbison, writing from Jackson (Missouri) requested that he be given "a minute candid description of the country politically, naturally and Religiously . . . particularly . . . what Liberties Ministers of our order (the Episcopalian) can or will enjoy. . . ." [10] A group from Baltimore lured by "the liberal

[8] *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 666.
[9] Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*, Ch. IV.
[10] John C. Harbison to Austin Dec. 11, 1821, *Austin Papers*, Part 1, p. 445.

proffers of land'' wished information on several points but especially on that of religious toleration.[11] From Rushville, Ohio, came the question, ''Will not . . . Monarchical Government and non-Toleration be a great check to the emigration of Americans.''[12] Several prospective settlers from Lexington, Kentucky, asked: ''Will the Liberty of Conscience, and of speech be granted to the present settlers and the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences?''[13] Elijah Noble of New Orleans wanted to know if ''. . . actual settlers be allowed to hold their Slaves in Bondage will the Settlers be allowd to worship their god agreeable to the dictates of their own minds, etc. or will they be compd to acknowledge the Catholic religion as the supreme religion of the land?''[14]

Some thirty such letters are to be found before 1832. The opponents or questioners were therefore decidedly few. These communications moreover are from divers places, the majority from our frontier settlements, where there had been no restraints either political or religious. Prospects of undisputed and permanent titles to land in Texas lured them, but the ''pot of gold'' must carry no disadvantages or restrictions.

The change in government necessitated a reaffirmation of the grant. Austin accordingly set out for Mexico. While there he was instrumental in framing a colonization law. The number of petitioners had made the passage of such a law indispensable. Of the thirty-two articles contained in the document, two of them were concerned with religion:

"Art. X. The government of the Mexican nation will protect the liberty, property and civil rights, of all foreigners, who profess the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, the established religion of the empire.

"Art. XVI. The government shall take care, in accord with the respec-

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[11] James T. Dunbar and others to Austin, Dec. 13, 1821, *Ibid.*, Part 1, pp. 447-448.

[12] Roswell Mills to Austin, March 28, 1822; *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 490.

[13] Samuel Ayres and others to Austin, June 6, 1822, *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 528.

[14] Elijah Noble to Austin, June 29, 1822, *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 528.

tive ecclesiastical authority, that these new towns are provided with a sufficient number of spiritual pastors, and in like manner it will propose to Congress a plan for their decent support." [15]

Due to the unstable condition of the Mexican government a new law was enacted in accordance with the constitution of 1824. A modification is observed in the national and in the state regulations. While the national law makes no specific mention of religion,[16] the state document inserts the word "christian" instead of catholic.[17] It may safely be assumed that American influence in the person of Baron de Bastrop had much to do in making this variation in the state law of March 1825. Baron de Bastrop had been instrumental in obtaining for Moses Austin recognition from the Spanish authorities and now as a representative of the colony at the capital of the State he continued his good offices in behalf of Anglo-American settlers.

Austin's first colony had been practically completed by the time the Constitution of 1824 became effective. He therefore petitioned the government for a new grant for three hundred families, framing his request in such a way as to omit the word Catholic as a description of proposed settlers and substituting the words "of good morals." This neat evasion of the original requirement did not escape the notice of the state's officials. Although the modified state law had already gone into effect the government stipulated in the affirmation of this petition that "the families who are to compose this colony besides being industrious as offered in the petition must also be Catholics and of good moral habits, which qualifications must be proved by the documents required in article five of the colonization law of March 1825." [18]

It appears, however, that the new settlers who came to the colony after 1824 were inclined to construe in a liberal way the religious clauses. While the letters of inquiry were still concerned about religion they appear to regard the clause as one that can

[15] Gammel, Vol. I, pp. 27 ff.
[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 38 ff.
[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 40-43.
[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 47 ff.

easily be evaded. Their anxiety about the subject seems to be based on economic interests. The question of Mexican hostility to slavery began to assume primary importance. The intolerance of holding slaves was of course something little thought of in the late twenties by Americans and especially those migrating into the southwest region. One perceives too that Austin's views on the subject underwent a gradual change. In 1823 he wrote to prospective colonists:

> "Colorado River House of Mr. Castleman
> August 6, 1823.
>
> Fellow Citizens,
>
> . . . . . I wish the settlers to remember that the Roman Catholic is the religion of this nation, I have taken measures to have Father Miness [Maynes] formerly of Natchitoches, appointed our Curate, he is a good man and acquainted with the Americans—we must all be particular on this subject and respect the Catholic religion with all that attention due to its sacredness and to the laws of the land.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Stephen F. Austin (Rubric)
>
> To J. H. Bell and Robertson, Abner Kuykendall and other settlers on the Brazos River." [19]

His keen perception led him to believe that compliance with the letter of the law meant the economic and political development of his project.[20] Personally he appears to have had little regard for the Catholic religion as he saw it practised in Mexico and he gave expression to his opinions in two communications of 1823 and again in his prison journal some ten years later.[21] These sentiments, however, seem to be sweepingly general conclusions, even admitting that religious conditions in Mexico, owing to the expulsion of the Spanish clergy, were probably at their worst. Within the limits of his colony and even in his confidential correspondence with immediate relatives he paid reverent respect to religion.

Writing from Mexico to his brother James Elijah Brown Austin,

[19] *Austin Papers*, Part 1, p. 680.
[20] *Austin Papers*, Part 1, pp. 644 ff., 670 ff.
[21] *The Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 183-210.

he advised him in these words: "You must conduct yourself very *prudently* and attend to your studies and religion. . . ."[22] While he foresaw that the natural operations of the republic would tend to full religious toleration, until such an event would come to pass he insisted on that point as a matter of principle. Thus a communication to his mother and sister indicated: "Be particular to inform any who move with you that the Roman Catholic is the established Religion here to the absolute exclusion of all others."[23] And he urged his brother to ". . . let the Methodists know the truth relative to religion. . . ."[24]

Not without opposition, however, did Austin maintain his stand. But even in the face of antagonism he remained firm, as the following letter dated San Felipe de Austin, December 17, 1824, indicates:

Dr. Sister,

. . . . . The Methodists have raised the cry against me, this is what I wished for if they are kept out, or would remain quiet if here for a Short time we shall succeed in getting a free toleration for all Religions, but a few fanatic and imprudent preachers at this time would ruin us,— we must show the Gov^{t} that we are ready to submit to their laws and are willing to do so, after that we can with more certainty of success hope to have our privileges extended.[25]

The dominant motive in his actions was the welfare of Texas. Personal interests were always subservient. Toward the close of his life after Texas had severed the ties that bound her to Mexico he could truthfully write to a friend: "The prosperity of Texas has been the object of my labors, the idol of my existence. It has assumed the character of a religion for the guidance of my thoughts and actions for fifteen years."[26]

[22] Letter, May 22, 1822, *Austin Papers*, Part 1, p. 518.

[23] A letter, May 4, 1824, *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 786.

[24] Memorandum for my brother J. E. B. Austin, May 4, 1824, *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 788.

[25] Austin to Mrs. James F. Perry, *Ibid.*, Part 1, pp. 991 ff.

[26] Austin to General Gaines, July 27, 1836. In the *Austin MSS. Papers.*

While Austin's policy is not altogether candid yet it was indicative of his tact and business ability. His very conservativeness saved his colony. It increased the number of thrifty and enterprising settlers thereby hastening the day when Mexican control of Texas would be lessened. His views on adherence to law were held by others. For instance, Mrs. Holley wrote in her book: "The introduction of Protestant preachers was contrary to law, and had it not been so, the contests of sectarians would have destroyed the country. . . ."[27]

Overmuch attention appears to be attached to Austin's colony when the consensus of opinion acclaims it non-conforming. The reasons are obvious. The pioneer in any field is a builder in his own way. Stephen Austin looking far into the future left to posterity voluminous material upon which succeeding generations were to draw in writing an accurate account of the period.[28] Until late in 1824 he was alone in the role of empresarios. Subsequent contractors came, but the same success did not attend their efforts. Nor have these later contractors left any valuable historical data. That is, if we except the ill-fated endeavors of Hayden Edwards.

Among the other empresarios seven at least are to be found professing Catholicism, five Mexicans and two Irishmen. Discounting four of the Mexican leaders for lack of evidence regarding their labors, we select for consideration Martin de Leon. He is classed as second only to Austin in the fulfilment of his contract. The seat of the colony was named Villa de Guadalupe de Jesús Victoria, but time has shortened the appellation into Victoria. While the site was located in October 1824,[29] the decision on the contract appears to have been rendered many months later.[30]

[27] Mary Austin Holley, *Texas*, p. 177.

[28] Two volumes of *The Austin Papers*, edited by Eugene Campbell Barker in report of the *American Historical Association*, 1919. *The Austin Papers* from 1827 to 1836 are still unpublished. *The Life of Stephen Fuller Austin, Founder of Texas*, by Dr. E. C. Barker is now in press.

[29] *Bexar Archives*, Martin de Leon to Juan Martin de Beramendi, February 26, 1825.

[30] *The Texas Almanac*, 1857.

However, as early as February 26, 1825, twenty-one out of the forty-one families called for in the grant had already been settled. Fourteen of that number were Anglo-Americans. In 1829 additional families were petitioned for and the census report for 1830 shows an aggregation of two hundred and sixty-nine persons.[31] Although the colony lacked a resident priest, religious services were cared for by Fathers Antonio Valdez, José Antonio Diaz de Leon, and Miguel Muro in turn.[32] In 1850 the property on which the empresario had built his first residence was donated to the bishop of the diocese and is now occupied by St. Mary's Church and Nazareth Academy.

The year 1828 marks the advent of the Irish empresarios. James Hewitson, one of the contractors, had accompanied Stephen F. Austin to Texas in 1821.[33] Apparently satisfied with the country he returned to the United States and received credentials from a notary public of St. Louis and from the Bishop of Louisiana attesting his creed and profession. These he presented the following year to the Governor of Texas. Then for a number of years he made Monclavo his home. In 1828 he united with James Power in a colonizing scheme. The number of persons induced to leave Ireland for the wilds of Texas is estimated at three hundred and fifty. Of this band two-thirds died in sight of the Texas coast without ever landing. Shipwreck and sickness were followed by other troubles. On account of a misconstruction of the land grant disputes arose with the neighboring colony and the burden of the legal proceedings fell on Powers.[34] The government annulled the contract at the expiration of the time limit but compensation was made by way of premium lands granted to the agents.

[31] *Nacogdoches Archives*, Census report for 1830.

[32] Victor M. Rose, *Some Historical Facts in regard to the Settlement of Victoria, Texas*, p. 12.

[33] *Bexar Archives*, Governor of Texas to Commandant General April 25, 1822; Yoakum, Vol. 1, p. 212 n.; E. C. Barker, "Journal of Stephen F. Austin on his first trip to Texas," *The Quarterly*, Vol. VII, p. 287.

[34] *Gulf Coast Line Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 2: "Adventures and Experience of Colonists who came from Ireland"; *Bexar Archives*, R. Musquiz to Alcalde

Contemporary with the above project was the plan of John McMullen and James McGloin. In less than a year after decision had been rendered on their contract thirty-six families numbering about two hundred persons were introduced, October 31 and November 3, 1829. Temporarily located at Mission Refugio, they later removed to a site about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Nueces River which was called San Patricio. Naturally this group of Irish Catholics could without equivocation fulfill the religious requirements of the colonization laws. They also provided their own spiritual pastor.[35]

By a special decree dated April 21, 1830, the Congress of the State of Coahuila and Texas granted to this Irish priest, Father Henry Doyle, permission to erect a chapel in any part of the settlement that he deemed most convenient. Furthermore, it allowed him to repair the chapel and the rectory at Mission Refugio in order to administer to the needs of any colonists who might establish themselves there.[36] Just how long Father Doyle remained in Texas is not known, for detailed information concerning his activities is not available.

In the list of names of the grantees of lands in the Irish colony appears that of Father John Thomas Malloy. Of his work even less is known, save that he presided as pastor of San Patricio at least during the year 1834.[37]

of Goliad, July 19, 1832. Decree of Legislature of Texas and Coahuila dated Feb. 3, 1834; Appendix to *Empresario Contracts*, Vol. IV, p. 257, (Manuscript) General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[35] *Bexar Archives*, Aransas Pass, Nov. 3, 1829, Matagorda Bay, Oct. 31, 1829. The list of names often in Spanish form is furnished in each case.

San Antonio Archives, County Court House, J. A. Vasquez, Goliad to R. Musquiz, Nov. 20, 1829; J. A. Padilla, San Felipe de Austin to Gefe at Bexar, Jan. 13, 1830; *Bexar Archives*, R. Musquiz to Governor of State, Nov. 22, 1829; Same to Alcalde of Goliad Nov. 25, 1829. Also list of passengers arriving Nov. 3, 1829.

[36] *San Antonio Archives*, Decree No. 139; given at Leona Vicario, April 21, 1830.

[37] Records of General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

A Protestant layman had some trouble with Father Malloy over the dis-

The historical remains regarding the Irish colonists are meagre. Francis W. Johnson's "Texas and Texans" seems to indicate that they practically disappeared after 1833.[38] The records of the General Land Office, however, furnish evidence to the contrary, for lands to grantees were distributed all during the year 1834. It is probably true, though, that these colonists found their way to other settlements and particularly into De Leon's jurisdiction. The names, too, in the muster rolls of Revolutionary regiments give testimony that many of the original Irish were fighting valiantly for Texan independence. In that section where the Irish originally settled there still survive such names as McGloin, Power, O'Brien, O'Connor, Welder, Gaffney, Fox, Shelly, Dorsey, Lambert, and Heard. San Patricio and Refugio were the first to suffer from the Mexican invasion of Texas. The first-named was practically destroyed, the second faced invasion again in 1842.

It remained for the government to fulfill its obligation in providing pastors for the new colonies. In 1820 there were five clergymen in all Texas. The pastorship of the church of San Fernando in San Antonio was held by Father Refugio de la Garza.[39] A statistical report of Bexar for the opening of that year placed the population at 1814, of whom 1044 were Spaniards and 768 of mixed blood,—Indians and mestizos. It is curious that in the report mention was made of but one European settler and one negro,[40] probably a slave. The task of providing for the spiritual welfare of the Spaniards devolved upon the parish priest.

tribution of Spanish New Testaments. The narration contains so many inconsistencies that one can give it little credence. See "Reminiscences of David Ayres," *Texas Methodist Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, pp. 40 ff. Later in the same year Father Malloy apparently was involved in election troubles. See *Bexar Archives*, Francisco Leal to Gefe Politico at Bexar, Dec. 16, 1834.

[38] See *Empresario Contracts*, Vol. IV.

[39] *Cathedral Records*, San Antonio. Father de la Garza began to sign the registry books, Jan. 27, 1820.

[40] *Bexar Archives*, Census report by Governor Antonio Martinez of the Province of Texas, Jan. 1, 1820.

A Franciscan, Father José Antonio Diaz de Leon, domiciled at San José mission, was charged with the care of Indians and half-castes.[41] There is no mention of a resident chaplain for the presidial garrison of the Alamo. The following year, however, Father Francisco Maynes, who had been forced to flee his chaplaincy in 1813, sought and obtained his former position.[42]

The settlement of Bahía or Goliad, as it came to be known in 1829, was served in 1820 by two Franciscans, Father Miguel Muro and Antonio Auser, the latter probably a lay brother. Father Muro's attention seems to have been given particularly to the Indians, who gathered from time to time at Mission Refugio, and to warding off the hostile coast tribes. The Mexican population appears to have been cared for by Father Antonio Valdez, chaplain of the garrison. In the absence of statistics for the community one may cite the report of the Ayuntamiento of Bexar, estimating the population of the entire province at about three thousand. At that rate this southeastern section could claim about a thousand inhabitants. While these figures do not tally with later reports, one is probably safe in assuming that some of the original inhabitants removed to the new settlements. Neither this section nor the vicinity of Bexar gave any signs of material progress during the decade 1820-1830.[43]

But the years following 1820 saw a rapid increase in the population of other departments of Texas. There is no indication, however, of a corresponding increase of pastors. The frontier town of Nacogdoches abandoned since 1813 came into being again at the opening up of Texas for colonization purposes.[44] As early

[41] Rev. Edmond Schmitt, *Catalog of Franciscans in Texas from 1757-1859; Bexar Archives*, José Antonio Diaz de Leon to Antonio Martinez, June 5, Dec. 13, 1820.

[42] *Bexar Archives*, Nov. 7, 12; Dec. 15, 21, 31, 1821; Feb. 23, Nov. 27, 1822.

[43] The census reports found in the Nacogdoches Archives show a gradual decrease annually in population, while the quarterly reports on birth, deaths, and marriages for contemporary periods indicate an increase of births over deaths.

[44] *Bexar Archives*, Erasmo Seguin to Governor Antonio Martinez, Aug. 19, 1821.

as 1823 the alcalde of the place petitioned the diocese of Monterey for a clergyman and though the request was often repeated, it met with only tentative fulfillment in the appointment of Father Antonio Valdez in 1827. Then the Ayuntamiento of Nacogdoches addressed itself to the Political Chief in these terms: "Father Valdez is to be commended on account of his virtues, morals, merits, and patriotism but his ill-health hinders him in the performance of his duties." Upon this recommendation he was relieved the following month, March 1828, by Father José Ignacio Galindo, but his stay too was of short duration.[45]

There were several reasons why the lot of a pastor would be difficult in Nacogdoches. No provisions were made by the government for salaries. Therefore the priest had to depend on the charity of offerings, and it is safe to assume that a frontier communty would not be liberal. Another disagreeable feature was that during the time of spiritual abandonmeut church property was utilized for other purposes, usually as a quartering place for tooops. This was true in Nacogdoches. The government of the province with apparent inconsistency, as there were no other quarters large enough for the garrison, issued orders to the commanding officer to vacate the building, when complaints were made respecting the matter. The only result was a futile series of communications.[46]

In 1830, Father José Antonio Diaz de Leon, a Franciscon remarkable for his deep religious spirit, was assigned by the administrator of the diocese of Monterey to Nacogdoches. Before the secularization of the missions Father Diaz had served at Mission San José 1820-1821, and as chaplain of the Alamo in 1822. During the absence of Father Refugio de la Garza as deputy for the

[45] *Ibid.*, José Antonio Salcedo to José Leon Lobo Guerrero, Oct. 29, 1823; Ayuntamiento of Nacogdoches, to Ramón Musquiz at Bexar, Feb. 17, 1828; *Nacogdoches Archives*, R. Musquiz to the Ayuntamiento, March 5, 1828.

[46] *Ibid.*, Alcalde of Nacogdoches to Governor, Jan. 7, 1829; *Ibid.*, March 15 and April 1, 1829, June 7, 23, 1830. *Bexar Archives*, Jan. 7, March 15, 1829, Aug. 3, 1830.

province, Father Diaz performed the function of pastor at San Fernando Church, Bexar.[47] When the missions of San Antonio passed into the hands of the secular clergy, he continued his services among the Indians. On receiving this new appointment, he was at Bahía with Father Muro.

On arrival at Nacogdoches, he perceived that it would be a difficult matter to recover the Church property, and endeavored to make other arrangements for religious services. In this connection a suggestion was made by Ramón Musquiz, Political Chief of Bexar, who wrote to the Ayuntamiento of Nacogdoches urging that a primary school be established and that a commodious building suitable for all acts of divine worship be erected. The government was apt in making suggestions, but it devolved upon the community to solve how they should be carried out. Accordingly under the inspiration of Father Diaz a Board of Piety was formed and arrangements were made to fulfill the double purposes. A circular letter was issued asking the villagers to contribute "money, produce, personal labor, or any other article which may be converted into value," or aid in the material work of both buildings.[48] Their apparent good will failed to materialize before the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico.

Even with a pastor manners and morals in this community were little improved. The devoted missionary who remained steadfast under all hardships had more to contend with than human nature can endure. In the latter part of October 1834, he was invited to the home of G. C. Hirams, a place situated between Trinity and Liberty, to perform a marriage ceremony. The nuptials over, Father Diaz repaired to the home of Michael Menard some distance away. He appeared under a great mental strain and entertained the fear that his life was endangered. While there he wrote a note, possibly the will spoken of and confused with the farewell

[47] *Nacogdoches Archives.* R. Musquiz to Alcalde of Nacogdoches, Jan. 6, 1830; Registry books of San Fernando Church.

[48] *Nacogdoches Archives,* Feb. 16, March 10, June 26, 1831.

letter cited in various accounts, intended for his nephew. In it details were given regarding a statue of the Blessed Virgin intended for the church of Nacogdoches and a hundred pesos which he assigned for the benefit of the said church. He further instructed the boy to give an account of the image and the disposal of the money to the Bishop of Monterey. Proceeding on his way he stopped at the house of Prentiss Borden where a farewell letter was written to his friends and to his nephew, Santos Antonio Avilos. Father Diaz then continued his journey but never reached Nacogdoches. The writer has found various documents centering around the date of his death but in which no mention is made of how he died.[49] On November 14, Enrique Ruis wrote to Vicente Cordova, judge of the first instance, stating that he had been informed of the death of Father Diaz by Michael Menard and advised care of the personal property of the deceased and also the ecclesiastical possessions in his care. The following January William Hardin, primary judge of Liberty, complained to the head of the Department of Nacogdoches of the carelessness in the political administration of his town. "I am well aware," he continued, "that there is now in the office of the Court of this Jurisdiction unfinished business relative to the decease of the Catholic priest José Antonio Diaz which should have been finished long since, but owing to the indisposition of myself and family but more particularly owing to the absence from the Jurisdiction of several of the most important witnesses in the case it has been out of my power to forward the same previous to the commencement of this new year. . . ." The "unfinished business" is written up only in the following May and June.[50] Father Diaz was

[49] *Ibid.*, Copy of a letter written at the home of Michael Menard, Nov. 2, 1834; see Shea, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 712; There is a draft in the *Bexar Archives* dated Dec. 29, 1834 addressed to Commandant general reporting the inability of the authorities of Nacogdoches to preserve order and citing in proof the murder of Father Antonio Diaz and five citizens.

[50] *Nacogdoches Archives*, Nov. 14, 1834, Jan. 19, 1835. For the inquest proceedings held ten days after the death, the testimony of witnesses is found in the *Nacogdoches Archives*, May 1, 1835.

the last resident pastor of Nacogdoches, for the revolution of the following year closed the question of providing a priest as far as Mexico was concerned.

In the Department of the Brazos and Colorado there was a noticeable absence of the "spiritual pastors" required by the colonization law of January 4, 1823. Austin's request for the services of Father Maynes was followed by a second petition subscribed to by several of the citizens but transmitted by the empresario in these terms:

"The inhabitants of the Colorado and the Brazos rivers with due respect present this letter informing you that since their arrival here they have been deprived of spiritual food. Many marriages have not been contracted; their children have not received baptism and some persons have died without the help that Religion gives and that is necessary for our own consolation in those last moments. . . . They supplicate you to send them a minister and if possible, Father Francisco Maynes, chaplain of the Company of Bexar, a priest well known to many of them and one that is conversant with both English and French. He would be able by his good example to maintain the moral standards which should exist among them and to instruct the youth in the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church." [51]

Every petition sent to the provincial governor was certain to result in a lengthy correspondence with Mexican federal officials. So it happened that after a year had elapsed the decision rendered stated that Father Maynes as chaplain of troops was ineligible for the curateship of Austin's colony.[52]

In the meantime, however, Austin weary of waiting wrote again, this time to the new Political Chief, José Antonio Saucedo: "As there are several persons who wish to be married, and several children to be baptized, I request you to be pleased to send the Padre, Refugio de la Garza, for this purpose, to avoid the bad consequences that result from delay in such cases. If the Padre can not come, let him give me the necessary authority to perform

[51] *Austin Papers*, ut supra, p. 18, note 19.

[52] *Bexar Archives*, Don José Leon Lobo to Political Chief of Texas, Nov. 5, 1824.

a kind of provisional marriage until he arrives; otherwise serious evils may result."[53] In reply the Political Chief informed Austin that the priest would visit his Villa in October. "In the interval," he said, "you can prepare them in what they ought to know about our religion. . . . Likewise it is necesary that on the site destined for the church, a decent room, capable of receiving all the people, be constructed, in order that in it the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass can be celebrated and the inhabitants baptized and married."[54]

The possibility of erecting a chapel before October was entirely out of the question, Austin informed Saucedo, as all the men were too busily engaged to undertake the work. Thus the matter rested and evidently Father de la Garza did not visit the colony. Still a third pastor announced his intended visit to the colony of the Brazos district and to the whole of Texas. This priest, Father Juan Nepomuceno Peña, was appointed vicario foraneo of Texas. Austin on hearing of the intended visitation penned a long reply in which he attests his knowledge of Catholic practises and outlines clearly the spiritual conditions of his department. After the usual complimentary introduction, the writer continued:

"All the families who have emigrated from other countries to reside in the colony under my care are Catholics. Their Christian conduct in as much as our recent establishment permits it, conforms to what can be observed by all good Catholics who find themselves without the spiritual helps which only the Ministers of the Most High can administer to them. For this reason, I pray you, in my name and in the name of all the citizens, that you kindly send us a priest to care for our spiritual necessities and if it be possible to send one who understands the English language it would be a greater source of consolation.

"Some children have been born in the colony, but since none have been seriously ill, they have not received baptism. Hoping that for our great happiness, a priest might come here who can administer the holy Sacra-

[53] Austin to José Antonio Saucedo, June 20, 1824, translation. *Austin Papers*, Part 1, p. 836.

[54] Saucedo to Estevan Austin, July 10, 1824, *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 850.

[55] Aug. 26, 1824, *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 884.

ment, for only necessity would oblige us to baptize these children in his absence.

"There have been five marriages here. The manner of performing them,—I hope that through your kindness and knowledge of the attending circumstances you may approve of it—has been, as was customary with the priests, in the presence of the relatives of both parties and of impartial witnesses and by means of a document signed, by the contracting parties and their relatives, they put themselves under obligation to submit to the fines which our Holy Mother the Church may impose through her Minister when he ratifies and blesses these marriages.

"The interments have been conducted as is customary among Christians where there is neither Priest nor consecrated place set apart for the purpose. All who have died in this village and the surrounding country are buried in a place which we call the cemetery. But it is not blessed, so we are interring them in this one place, until such a time as it may be possible to have it consecrated." [56]

It appears that Father Peña requested a census report but on account of the frequent arrival of new families and the scattered habitations, Austin averred that more time would be required to compile accurate statistics. The concluding paragraph shows that some family difficulties had arisen among his colonists, which Austin was anxious to settle. There had been two cases in which women deserted their husbands, and the question arose whether it would be possible for the men to remarry according to the rites of the Catholic Church since their first marriages in the absence of a priest were performed by civil magistrates. "But as it is a matter which I can not and should not decide," wrote Austin, "I am consulting you in order that you may advise me how to act in these cases under similar circumstances in the future."

The letter would indicate that the writer had some Catholic teachings. It is possible that the real author was a Catholic friend better informed than Austin was apt to be. The detailed account is an interesting survey of what a pioneer community endured. The settlement of difficulties was still far distant, for Father Peña never visited the colony. He did make a canonical visitation of

[56] *Ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 1032, ff.

the San Fernando Church in San Antonio de Bexar, as witnessed by the registry books of March 12, 1825.[57] The following year Father Maynes, previously referred to as chaplain of the presidial company of Bexar, was appointed vicario foraneo.[58] Whatever he may have accomplished is veiled in obscurity.

There is no further mention of a priest for Austin's colony until 1829, when Father Miguel Muro, the Franciscan, formerly stationed at Refugio and Bahía, was appointed to serve the Department of the Brazos. The zeal of this priest is engraved in the documentary records of the mission of Refugio. Until 1828 these records were faithfully kept. His appointment to the American colony tested their sincerity. There was no law save custom requiring civil authorities to furnish an escort for missionaries, and when Father Muro made his appeal to Austin for a guard, it was ignored.[59] Austin while in Mexico seemed to have taken a dislike to friars, which may account for his failure to honor the new appointee. Yet, the Department was indebted to this priest's influence in framing a treaty with the Indians. Thus another prospect of obtaining a pastor was lost.

At last in 1831, a priest arrived in the American colony. The person in question was Father Michael Muldoon. Austin while in Leona Vicario (Saltillo) on business relating to his jurisdiction wrote Samuel Williams, a colonist, that he had met the new pastor and was well pleased with him. In a second letter he announced that the priest had gone to Monterey to obtain from the ecclesiastical authorities faculties for officiating in Texas. Previous to his departure, however, the Congress of the State of Coahuila

[57] Records of San Fernando Church, *Libro de Entierros*, 1817-1860, *Libro de Baptismos* 1812-1825, *Libro de Casamentos* 1798-1856.

[58] *Nacogdoches Archives*, Circular No. 975, Feb. 1826.

[59] April 13, 1830, *Austin Manuscript Papers.*

See Treaty with the Karankawa Indians, *Austin Papers*, Part 2, pp. 1639 ff.; see A. R. Roessler "Antiquities and Aborigines of Texas" *Smithsonian Report*, (1881), pp. 613-616.

and Texas granted him citizenship papers.[60] From Monterey Father Muldoon proceeded to Matamoras where he met General Mier y Teran and delivered a communication from Austin. Now as General Teran had made several visits to Texas, he thought he knew something of American character. Although confident that moral advantages would result from the residence of a priest, he had his doubts as to the success of Father Muldoon's mission, and so confided to Austin.[61] He reasoned that the means of subsistence in the colony would not permit the priest to live in his accustomed manner, and that he would find conditions far different from his expectations. On April 3, 1831, the general informed Austin that the pastor with a good escort had departed for Texas. The trend of his letter shows that he had warned Father Muldoon that outside the eleven leagues of land assigned by the government, there would be no financial aid save by way of voluntary contributions.[62]

Austin wrote Samuel Williams that the priest was on his way to the colony and requested that he be well received. In accordance with this wish the Ayuntamiento which was then in session appointed a committee of three members to await the pastor and provide necessary conveniences.[63]

Just what were the extent of the faculties given to Father Muldoon it is impossible to ascertain, for the records of the Cathedral of Monterey for this period were seized by the Mexican government in a late revolution and have never been returned. Apparently they were quite extensive if one can judge from the high-sounding titles given in the current journal announcing his arrival:

"The Reverend Doctor Muldoon, Parish Priest Of Austin And Vicar General Of All The Foreign Colonies, Already Existing, Or That May

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[60] Jan. 13, 1831, *Williams Papers*, Jan. 13, Feb. 5, 1831. See Gammel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

[61] Mier y Teran to Stephen F. Austin, March 1831. *Austin Mss. Papers.*

[62] Letter of April 3, 1831, *Ibid.*

[63] April 21, 1831, in *Williams Papers.*

"Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832." *The Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, p. 302.

Be Hereafter Established In His Time, Invested With Plenipotentiary Papal And Episcopal Powers In Order To Dispensations . . . . . Begs to inform his beloved parishioners that on his visit through the colony, he will Baptize and Marry the black race of both sexes, without receiving from them or their masters any gratification. He feels it is his incumbent duty, and very cordial pleasure to succour and patronize distress in whatever colour or condition it may appear." [64]

This amazing announcement is followed by a description in verse and prose of Father Muldoon's trip through the colony. The only item in the narrative indicative of his priestly functions is that at one of the places visited there were "upwards of a hundred persons Baptized, and four couple Married." His disgraceful charges for these services were "two dollars for baptism and twenty-five for marriage." In the "Reminiscence" of Henry Smith we get an idea of the view that seems to have prevailed among the colonists regarding this priest:

His sage appearance and seemingly good manners caused him to be kindly received by the colonists, as a kind of necessary evil, which they could not well avoid. Every courtesy and attention was paid to him, and for a time, him [sic] and his parishioners got on very well together; he never troubled them with church service, but confined his duties to baptism and marriage ceremonies. . . ." [65]

Father Muldoon was a dubious character. His religious activities can not be condoned. Those who submitted to a perfunctory baptism at his hands have passed down in history as "Muldoon Catholics." There were many such in Texas. Yet like most men Muldoon had a good side. On one occasion he offered himself as a hostage for some imprisoned citizens. Again when Austin was unjustly incarcerated in Mexico, Father Muldoon acted as

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[64] *Mexican Citizen*, May 26, 1831. Villa de Austin.

[65] *The Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, p. 34.

The following baptismal certificate is in the Austin Mss Papers: "Mariam Elizabetham Bryan (sponsoribus ejus S. M. Williams ejusque uxore) sub conditione Baptizatam fuisse secundum Ritum Sanctae Romanae Catholicae Ecclessiae hacce quinta die mensis Martii—Anno vero Salutis nostrae 1832." Michael Muldoon. Reg. LI, p. 2.

intermediary between him and the Texans.[66] He left Texas in 1832 but evidently with the intention of returning. There is on record an application to the governor for a salary of six hundred pesos for the parish priest of San Felipe. In accordance with this demand the Fourth Constitutional Congress of the State of Coahuila and Texas passed an act to tax the Bishop of Monterey an annual pension to support Miguel Muldoon. After a considerable delay the bishop notified the governor that owing to a change in the tithing law there were not sufficient funds in the treasury to comply with the request. Father Muldoon appears to have made no further efforts to assume his pastoral charge. In 1836, he disposed of his land for five thousand dollars.[67] He did, however, visit the Republic in 1839, and after a short stay returned to Mexico with the Texan agent, Bernard Bee. He was shortly after imprisoned; his apparent offense was friendliness to Texans, the sworn enemies of Santa Anna.[68] Here our knowledge of this eccentric cleric terminates. His end is as clouded in obscurity as his origin.

Mexico's nonfulfillment of her obligations regarding religious appointments was pronounced. Nevertheless this laxness did not permit priests of other nations to officiate in Texas. Hence the arrival in Texas of an Italian priest, Father Anzelmo Angero, was a cause of no little apprehension on the part of the authorities at Bexar lest the priest be an emissary of the court of Rome and orders that he "re-embark at once" were issued. A similar discrimination was exercised against a priest from Louisiana, the

[66] *Nacogdoches Archives,* Translation of Historical Documents found in the Archives of Bexar County, June 3, 1832. James Perry to Padre Muldoon, May 13, 1834; Oliver Jones to James J. Perry, June 10, 1834. *Austin Mss. Papers.*

[67] Extract from Acts of Congress, Jan. 23, 1833; Bishop of Monterey to Governor of Coahuila and Texas; Michael Muldoon to Gen'l. Austin, March 9, 1836. J. W. Zacharie to Col. Stephen F. Austin, May 5, 1836. All in *Austin Mss. Papers.*

[68] Bernard B. Bee to Mr. Pakenham, Bernard E. Bee to J. M. Almonte, May 22, 1839. The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, Vol. I, p. 583.

Reverend Aristide Anduze, who probably crossed the boundary line into Nacogdoches to care for his own parishioners.[69]

Of the five priests mentioned in 1820 only two were in Texas at the outbreak of hostilities. Father Maynes withdrew about 1830. After the secularization of Mission Refugio, Father Miguel Muro served for some time at Bahía or Goliad. He was later appointed chaplain to troops under Teran but left the province in 1833.[70]

After reviewing this period the testimony of writers on Texas history seems to stand that the cause which brought about the separation from Mexico was a contest of nationalities. Religion, while it may have been outstanding in the minds of individuals, on the whole played a small part, regardless of its emphasis in the colonization law.

[69] José Antonio Saucedo to Alcalde of Nacogdoches, July 28, 1826, *Nacogdoches Archives;* Samuel Norris to José Antonia Saucedo, Patricio de Torres the same, Oct. 3, 1826; J. A. Saucedo to Vice Governor, Oct. 15, 1826; J. A. Saucedo to Alcalde of Nacogdoches, Oct. 17, Nov. 1, 1826. *Bexar Archives.*

[70] Antonio Elosua to Commandant General May 24, 1830. *Ibid.*, Two documents July 7, 1832 and Jan. 31, 1831.

After leaving Texas Father Muro served 1832-1837 as master of novices in the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, and went to California about 1842 from which time his name appears on the records of San José Mission, until May 1845, and at San Francisco in June-October of the same year. He died of cholera in 1850. He was a religious of most exemplary life. See Zepherin Engelhardt, *Franciscans in California,* p. 396, Note 8.

CHAPTER III

The Reorganization of the Catholic Church

Religion was not a significant feature in the separation of Texas from Mexico. Yet no less than three phrases of the Declaration of Independence seem to indicate the contrary. The introduction declared that "every interest has been disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood." Further on it was maintained that there is left but "the cruel alternative either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood," and lastly that, "It (the government) denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the support of a national religion calculated to promote the temporal interests of its human functionaries." How can one account for these statements?

Rebellion against lawful authority required a moral justification as well as political causes. Hence they framed their Declaration of Independence with the idea of American and foreign support by stressing the supposed religious tyranny of the Mexican nation, which bestowed free lands on them as colonists, but which failed to support slavery as an institution. That there was no tyranny from the priesthood is evident from the fact that there is not a single instance on record where the colonists were subjected to oppressive treatment on account of religious beliefs. Indeed there were few church members of any kind. While the Catholic religion was prescribed, it received little support from the people. And it is evident that with practically no priests, there could be little of the so-called priestly control.

The "Inciativa" of 1830 gives Teran's reports on Texas.[1] Teran's attitude towards Texans was never friendly and hence Alaman's

[1] General Manuel Mier y Teran came to Texas in 1827 at the head of the boundary commission to locate the proposed line between the United States

conclusion that "there is not one among them, in Texas, who is a Catholic."[2] Yoakum's estimate, while not quite as sweeping is conclusive enough: "It is not unsafe to affirm that, in the face of the law, nineteen-twentieths of the colonists of Texas neither observed nor believed in the religion prescribed in the Mexican constitution. . . ."[3] John Linn, himself a colonist, who had perhaps a better chance of knowing the religious affiliations of his fellow-men observes: "In regard to religious toleration under the Mexican government I deem a few words not inappropriate. Not one in ten of the colonists introduced into Texas were [sic] Catholics; and to my certain knowledge no efforts were made to secure forcible subscription to the tenets of that church."[4]

During this period, too, there was a scarcity of priests in Texas. The reasons for this are obvious. In Mexico as in all Spanish territory the church was under the supervision of the state.[5] Moreover from 1821 to 1831 the ecclesiastical province to which Texas belonged was without a bishop, because under the new regime Spanish ecclesiastics were believed to be in favor of a restoration of the monarchy and were driven as exiles from their sees. Besides this, efforts were made in the twenties to limit the church's powers. In the numerous documents relating to religious administration, every matter passed through the hands of the civil authorities. Hence there was sufficient check, it would seem.

and Mexico which was then being negotiated. In 1828 he was instructed to make a close inspection of the Anglo-Americans. His report intimated that the colonists were violating the laws of Mexico. Another report of Teran's, November 1829, showed that he had little confidence in the loyalty of the colonists. His adverse criticism was perhaps responsible for the obnoxious laws of April 6, 1830. In 1830 he was made commandant-general of the Eastern States.

[2] Lucas Alaman was minister of foreign relations. His summary of Teran's report is found in *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografia, Inciativa de Ley-Apendice,* Numero I, p. 50.

[3] Yoakum, H. K., *History of Texas from* 1685-1846, Vol. I, p. 233.

[4] Linn, *Reminiscences,* p. 283.

[5] Ryan, Edwin, "Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies," *Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. II, pp. 146-156.

This attempt to limit the Church's performance of her duties developed into actual regulations in the thirties. In 1834 a decree of the legislature of Coahuila and Texas provided that "the founding of edifices built by charitable donations (obras pias) under any denomination whatever is hereby absolutely prohibited; no person shall dispose of more than one-fiftieth of his property in benefit to his soul; the intervention of ecclesiastical authority in affairs purely civil is prohibited; also the testament visit (visita testimentos) in the state by the bishops of the diocese."[6] Another decree provided that pastorals, edicts, and orders of bishops and other spiritual authorities should not be executed without permission from the government.[7] The far-reaching character of these enactments was attested by nearly a hundred years of persecution.

In the same year a law regulated the sale at auction of public land. In this act there was a wider clause which stated that "no person should be molested for political and religious opinions provided the public order was not disturbed." This was virtually an act of toleration which eliminated the grounds of religious dissent.

Thus Linn's statement rings true:

> But "priest-ridden" will hardly apply to the state of Texas during its American colonization, as Almonte's report speaks of but *one priest* in all the vast region east of the Rio Grande. The tyranny of this surpliced servant of God could hardly have borne very grievously on the heroes who broke the power of Santa Anna at San Jacinto.[8]

Under the new republic of Texas religious toleration was insured by the Bill of Rights. Article V, Section 1 gives equality to ministers of all denominations and freedom of worship, reading:

> Ministers of the gospel being, by their profession dedicated to God and the care of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions: therefore, no minister of the gospel or priest of any denomina-

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[6] Gammel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 350, 363.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[8] Linn, *Reminiscences*, p. 330.

tion whatever, shall be eligible to the office of the executive of the republic; nor to a seat in either branch of the congress of the same. . . .

No preference shall be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship over another, but every person shall be permitted to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.[9]

During the first year of the republic, various religious sects took advantage of the new order. Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, who were in Texas before the revolution, organized as churches.[10]

In July 1837 a Frenchman, Charles Compte de Farnesè came to Texas, with a very elaborate colonizing scheme. His letter of introduction stated that his object in visiting the republic was "to offer his fortune and personal influence to the glorious Texan cause." The only parts of that project that appear to have been handed down are the religious clauses:

"1. To raise all Texas to an arch-bishopric. This step is the sure means of making peace with Mexico through the influence of the Roman court; it will break all communication with the bishop of Monterey under whose jurisdiction are the Catholics of Texas, and will remove all difficulty with other courts in acknowledging the independence of Texas.

6. To accord gratuitously in all the cities and villages of Texas, a convenient place to build a church, house for curate and school.

7. In order that the archbishop, clergy, masters, and mistresses of schools may not become chargeable to government, to accord them without distinction, in their respective parishes, or the nearest district, twelve hundred and eighty acres of land.

9. The churches, houses of clergy, and schools will be built by the means of the church; consequently the governor will not have the power to employ them for any other purpose, without consent of the holy see.

10. The religion catholic apostolic and Roman will be allowed to exercise freely her functions in all parts of Texas.

11. She will enjoy the protection of government.

12. She will observe strictly the rights [Roman rites] and canons Roman."[11]

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[9] Gammel, Vol. I, pp. 1075 ff.

[10] Yoakum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 220-222, 536-543.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 224 ff. Yoakum does not give the location of his document. He merely states, Letter and plan of Count Farnesè, July 28, 1837.

This plan has been interpreted as an attempt to establish Catholicism as the state religion, though the evidence does not warrant such an inference. Naturally the establishment of an archbishopric could in no way change the status of religion in its relationship to the government. Nor did President Houston's letter to the Count indicate that he considered the plan hurtful to freedom of religion:

> Your communication of the 28th ultimo has claimed my particular consideration and from its importance should have commanded an earlier response, had not an indisposition denied me the pleasure. The subject of a separation of religious as well as political bonds between Texas and Mexico meets my entire approbation, and could have none other than a salutary tendency in producing harmony with the Catholic citizens of Texas.
>
> Our Constitution secures to all denominations the free exercise of religion and I would suppose would not restrict your desires so far as they are connected with the Holy Mother Church. I see no impediment to the establishment of an archbishopric in Texas as in the State of the North. As to the matter of giving any special grant of privilege or land it is not within the function of the President, and belongs only to Congress. All that remains with the President is to express his great reverence for religion and education and to desire their influence in this rising community. He feels aware of their happy tendency to ameliorate the conditions of mankind in their temporal and social relations, nor has he ever doubted their benign influence on Eternity through the kind mediation of a Savior Jesus Christ.[12]

Count Farnesè eventually abandoned his project; and the practice of the Catholic religion was almost a dead letter until the latter part of 1838, when Father Timon arrived.

The period of history already considered in this essay did not

[12] This letter was evidently translated into French by Smith for Houston. This accounts for its location in *Ashbel Smith Manuscript Papers.*

General Sam Houston, the Commander-in-chief of the Texan forces during the struggle anteceding independence from Mexico and first President of the Republic of Texas was favorably inclined towards Catholics. He is credited with having received baptism according to the rites of the Catholic Church. Two of his grandchildren are members of the Church. See *History of the Galveston Diocese and St. Mary's Cathedral*, p. 32.

dimly foreshadow the future growth of the Catholic Church within the broad expanse of Texas. At its close the outlook was gloomy indeed. True, the majestic missions in crumbling ruin, spoke eloquently of past glory and valiant labors fruitful with the blood of martyred priests, but there was no intimation of a re-awakening. There were church buildings at Refugio, Victoria and Nacogdoches, but the silence of their walls was never broken by the solemnity of divine service. In San Antonio the once beautiful church of San Fernando told a sad story of neglect. The position of pastor was held by a priest who in canon law would be regarded as non-functioning. At one of the mission churches resided another such clergyman, a stumbling-block to the little faith that still survived in the hearts of the poor Mexicans.

The Declaration of Independence followed quickly. By prowess in arms on the field of San Jacinto Texas won general repute. The outcome had been so sudden that the powers waited with bated breath for a rebound. Perceiving, however, that no active steps were being taken to reconquer the lost province, one after another of the great nations realized that the recognition of Texas was to their own advantage. Hence the United States, England, France, and Belgium recognized the new order of things in the Southwest. Of a far different character was the deep-seated interest of the Holy Roman Apostolic See.

Texas had been subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Linares since 1777. Monterey was permanently established as the seat of this bishopric in 1792.[13] Bishop Primo Feliciano Marin de Porras, 1801-1805, extended his visitations over the vast province of Texas.[14] His travels brought him as far east as the present site of Natchitoches, Louisiana. An old diary found in Mexico in 1811 sheds some light on this journey.[15] Among other things

[13] Bolton, *Guide to Materials in the Archives of Mexico*, p. 415.

[14] Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. III, p. 710; Thrall, Rev. Homer S., *Pictorial History of Texas*, p. 738.

[15] *Registro Oficial*, February 28, 1831, Vol. IV, No. 59.

two thousand French are recorded as communicants of the diocese. While this number is probably overestimated, the value of the item lies in the fact that western Louisiana was ecclesiastically a part of Mexico until the boundary settlement of 1819.

During the Revolutionary era of 1808 to 1821, Bishop Marin fell under the ire of the radicals and was expelled from his see.[16] His successor suffered a similar fate on the overthrow of the Spanish regime.[17] Dr. José Leon Lobo Guerrero, vicar-general of the diocese acted as administrator, or as it was termed in Mexico, governor of the mitre "in sede vacante."[18] The clergy in general were subjected to harsh treatment particularly through the machinations of the Free Masons whose control over Mexican affairs was singularly strong after 1825. Religion in Texas had to depend for its maintenance on the appointments through the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the central government. Then the political separation from Mexico in 1836 necessarily broke off ecclesiastical relations entirely.

Apprised of civil and religious conditions existing in Texas the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda lost no time in trying to remedy spiritual conditions. Accordingly the following instructions were sent to the Bishop of New Orleans:

Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

It has been made known to the Sacred Congregation that, in the whole province of Texas, no Catholic priest is to be found, that there is a great multitude of Catholics dwelling there very solicitous for religion and that the President of the Republic shows himself to be benevolently disposed to the Catholic faith. I have judged it proper to write to you this letter that I might commend this serious matter to you, and to say that you will do a thing most pleasing to the Sacred Congregation, if without delay

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[16] Shea, Vol. III, p. 711.

[17] Wooten, Dudley G., *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 132, 157.

[18] The name of Don José Leon Lobo appears on all documents transmitted from the diocese of Monterey to Texas. While the title following his name has been erroneously translated bishop, Monterey never had a bishop of his name. See Bolton, *Guide*, pp. 472.

you send some priests to the aforesaid Province. When afterwards the Sacred Congregation shall have received a true report of conditions, from the priests whom you shall have sent, then the Apostolic See will determine what is best for procuring of the permanent good of religion.

Given at Rome, Sacred Cong. of Propaganda Fide
16 January 1838
J. Ph. Card. Fransoni
Prefect.[19]

Rt. Rev. Anthony Blanc was hard pressed for priests to care for his extensive diocese, for cholera and yellow fever had depleted the ranks of the clergy during 1832-1836.[20] Although he had recently procured from Europe eight Jesuit Fathers for college and missionary work, his needs were by no means satisfied. Yet here was a new burden to be borne. Necessity compelled him to seek assistance outside his own diocese, hence his appeal in June 1838 to Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati of St. Louis and Very Rev. John Timon, newly appointed Visitor of the Lazarists.[21] With charity characteristic of the early Christian days these pioneer bishops and priests were ever ready to forget their own indigence and lend a helping hand. Thus the Bishop of New Orleans did not appeal in vain.

No better choice than the selection of Very Rev. Father Timon could have been made. Once he had entered upon the duties of clerical life, this minister of God had his days crowded with good works. His missionary journeys had taken him into nearly every part of Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas and Louisiana. His zeal knew no bounds. Charity, humility and simplicity characterized his actions. Nor was he a stranger to those sterner qualities that make some men rulers of many men. With keen business ability and a firm hand, he had faced the difficulties that threatened his

[19] *Souvay Collection.* A translation from the Latin. Letters from this collection have been translated with some variations in *History of the Diocese of Galveston and St. Mary's Cathedral.*

[20] Shea, Vol. III, pp. 672-673.

[21] Deuther, Charles G., *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon,* p. 66.

community in the early thirties and through his efforts the college of the Barrens, Missouri, was rescued from suppression and its debts lessened. The man who had accomplished so much for his own community was now sent to report on the religious life of Texas.

Bishop Blanc communicated the name of his appointee to the Sacred Congregation. Ever ready to preserve harmony that body felt some uneasiness lest this overlapping of jurisdiction would create difficulties. Therefore Cardinal Fransoni addressed the following correspondence to New Orleans:

> In reply to the letter from the United States written November 25, I believe myself obliged to tell you, that in regard to the journey to Texas of Mr. Timon, Superior of the Lazarists, let him not make such a journey until after having obtained the consent and the good will of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis. Certain that you will be pleased to conform to my communication, I pray the Lord to give you long life and prosperity.
>
> Given at Rome, etc.
>
> February 22, 1839.[22]

This uneasiness, however, was uncalled for, and even had it been necessary it came too late to be effective for Father Timon's report had been already committed to writing.

In the month of December 1838, Father Timon proceeded to New Orleans where he was met by Rev. J. F. Llebaria. On account of the irregular schedules of coastal ships, it was necessary for them to set sail on Christmas eve. Arriving at Galveston late in the evening of January 9, they were unable to land until the following day. Strangers in a strange land, they had the good fortune to meet a former friend, Colonel Michel Menard,[23] who put his own home at their disposal. There they celebrated their first Masses in Texas on the feast of the Holy Innocents.[24] Sojourning

[22] *Souvay Collection*, a translation from the Italian.

[23] Deuther, *Life of Timon*, p. 66. Michel B. Menard was the founder of Galveston and instrumental in obtaining its first charter.

[24] *Souvay Collection*, Father Llebaria to Father J. B. Etienne, Proc. Gen. C. M., January 15, 1839.

in the island town five days, the missionaries had the consolation of seeing their efforts and zeal requited. Dormant faith was awakened, and Catholics and non-Catholics generously co-operated in plans for building a church.[25]

From Galveston the travelers proceeded to Houston, the capital of the infant republic. Providence again favored them. Unacquainted, they were at a loss whither to turn, for everybody "seemed to be afraid of priests and ashamed to acknowledge that they were Catholics."[26] However a good Irish woman whom they had befriended on the boat from New Orleans now disposed a Protestant lady to allow them a small room. In this squalid apartment they offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass January 4. During the course of the day they met a Senator and two Representatives whom Father Timon had known previously. Through them they were put in communication with Mexican members of Congress,[27] who, elated at the prospect of a revival of religion, gave them their entire confidence.

They estimated the entire population of the country at two hundred thousand.[28] In San Antonio there were about fifty English-speaking Catholics and fifteen hundred Mexicans. Particularly did they stress the scandalous conduct of the only two priests in Texas, and so anxious were they to remedy the evil that they offered to put their testimony in writing. Goliad, at one time populous, had now fifty or possibly twenty, Catholic Mexican families, while in Refugio there were about forty Irish families and in Victoria about two hundred of the same nationality. The ravages of war had left San Patricio a deserted town. Houston had perhaps three hundred Catholics. While the numbers were small, they

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, Father John Timon to Father Nozo, Superior General, C. M., January 9, 1829.

[27] Francisco Ruiz, José Antonio Navarro and Juan N. Seguin.

[28] This is largely overestimated. The last official report of the Government of Mexico gave as the entire population of whites and Indians 21,000. See Almonte, Juan N.: *Noticia Estadistica sobre Tejas*, Núm. 3.

gave ample testimony that the faith was there if zealous priests could be provided to restore it to pristine vigor. Through these gentlemen they likewise became acquainted with the foremost men of the republic who did not hesitate to invite them to speak in Congress.

Accordingly the issue of the "Telegraph and Texas Register," January 5, 1839, announced: "The Rev. Mr. Timon of the Roman Catholic Church will preach in the representatives' hall on Sunday 6th inst., 3 o'clock P. M." This news drew a great concourse of people, even four Protestant ministers. Deeply impressed at the presentation of Catholic dogmas, all classes vied with one another in making the acquaintance of the preacher. Colonel Sublett, ex-President Houston and Mr. John S. Roberts of Nacogdoches, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, gave him additional information regarding the prospects of about six hundred Catholics, and others were to be found scattered along the banks of the Sabine river. As in Galveston subscriptions for building a church were offered.[29] Full of gratitude for the success attending their humble efforts, the two missionaries returned without further delay to New Orleans. Arriving January 14, they submitted their report to Bishop Blanc.

In his report Father Timon laid particular emphasis on the selection of priests for Texas. "Their conduct," he said, "ought to be edifying, in order to repair scandals and to gain public confidence. The spirit of avarice observed in the priests who formerly visited in this country and the bad conduct which they have displayed render indispensable a rare prudence and an exemplary life in those who will be charged with reuniting the stray sheep of this dispersed fold. Moreover one finds here a great number of strong men. The Protestant ministers are more capable than those of the United States. The need then will be for learned priests, capable of doing honor to religion and endowed with a particular

[29] *Souvay Collection*, Letter of January 9, 1839.

tact to defend the Catholic faith without wounding the susceptibilities of their adversaries.'' [30]

Texas was not neglected while the decision of the Holy See was pending on Father Timon's report. In a letter from Bishop Blanc to his intimate friend Father Jeanjean, we learn that two other Lazarists, Fathers Paquin and Chandy, had just returned from a tour of the republic ''enchanted with the prospects for the future of religion in that country.'' [31] Occasionally, too, the Reverend N. B. Anduze of New Orleans visited Nacogdoches, Galveston and Houston, keeping alive the enthusiasm aroused by John Timon.[32]

The spiritual interests of the republic, however, were not centered alone in Louisiana. During the years 1820-1836, there had been a Texas movement in Kentucky. Emigration to the promised land was large. The struggle for self-assertion had likewise elicited volunteer troops from Newport, Louisville and Bardstown.[33] These considerations therefore induced two young priests, Edward A. Clark and George Hayden, to leave the diocese of Bardstown with the consent of their ordinary in order to exercise their ministry in Texas. They hoped to establish there, if prospects were favorable, an institution of learning.[34] John Gilmary Shea has written that they found a hundred Catholics on the Brazos.[35] Their letter of introduction from Father Anduze to President Lamar gave evidence that they were ''regularly sent by the Bishop

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *History of the Diocese of Galveston and St. Mary's Cathedral*, p. 42.

[32] Shea, Vol. III, pp. 715-716.

[33] Linn, John J., *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, pp. 55 ff.; Barker, E. C., "Kentucky and the Independence of Texas," *The Quarterly*, Vol. 16, pp. 27-62.

[34] Webb, Ben., *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 55, n.

Father Clark was a grand nephew of the Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, first bishop of Cincinnati. Ten of the eighteen years he spent in Texas were devoted to missionary labors among a widely scattered population along the Brazos river. In 1848 he was transferred to Houston where he labored until his health failed. He died in Louisville, Kentucky, November 23, 1858.

[35] Shea, Vol. III, p. 716.

of Louisiana,'' and that more propitious days were in store for the Republic. After calling them ''the advance guard of a numerous emigration of respectable families who leave Kentucky,'' the letter continued, ''We expect any day from Rome the nomination of an Apostolic vicar for your Republic. I hope the choice will be gratifying to the friends of Texas and particularly to you.'' [36]

The anticipated nomination from Rome with its gratifying choice of Very Reverend John Timon as Prefect-Apostolic with power to confer confirmation reached the Barrens, Missouri, April 12, 1840. Although accepting the new burden, Father Timon found it impossible to proceed to Texas. Since he feared that some opportunity of doing good might be lost by delay, he immediately appointed Reverend Jean Marie Odin as Vice-Prefect-Apostolic.[37]

Father Odin, who for twenty years was to play such a distinctive part in the upbuilding of the Church in Texas, was born February 25, 1800, in Hauteville, France, the seventh child in a family of ten. In the baptismal records the names of his parents are noted as Jean Odin and Claudine Marie Seyrol. Early in life he showed traits indicative of a divine call. While a student at the grand seminary of St. Sulpice in Lyons, 1816, he heard the story of the Louisiana missions from Bishop Dubourg. The zeal of the missionary was enkindled. Therefore in 1822 when the bishop of Louisiana again travelled to Europe in the interests of his extensive diocese, Jean Marie, a sub-deacon, volunteered missionary service. On arrival in America, the little band repaired to Missouri to finish their theological studies and acquire a knowledge of English. Living among the sons of St. Vincent, the young cleric was soon attracted to the religious life and consequently entered the novitiate. The religious formation of the novice fitted him in a particular manner for later duties. In addition to teaching he

[36] *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, Dec. 1839, (Abbé) N. B. Anduze, New Orleans, (Louisiana) to M. B. Lamar, (unpublished).

[37] Deuther, *Life of Timon*, pp. 73-74. *Bullarium Pontificum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Tomus V, pp. 265 ff.

was charged with visiting the sick and imparting instructions to non-Catholics. Thus his controversial powers were developed and tempered with that prudence so necessary in instilling right principles without wounding the susceptibilities of hearers.

On May 4, 1823, he was elevated to the priesthood in the Cathedral of St. Louis by Bishop Dubourg. The following year when Very Reverend Joseph Rosati, Superior of the Barrens, was named coadjutor to Bishop Dubourg, the duties of provisional superior, parish priest and confessor to the seminarians, collegians, and Loretto Sisters, fell on Father Odin. As director of the college and professor of logic and theology he became acquainted with the future Father John Timon, and there developed between them a lifelong friendship.[38]

Father Odin left the Barrens for Texas May 2, 1839, but forced delays kept him from reaching his destination until July 13, 1840. The following day he forwarded the details of his journey to Father Timon.[39]

From his communication and from the notes of his diary it would appear that religious conditions were far better than at first anticipated. Reverend Ubaldus Estany, one of his travelling companions, was installed as pastor of Victoria and the neighboring places. Together with Reverend Michael Calvo and Brother Sala, Father Odin proceeded to San Antonio.[40] Travelling was a perilous undertaking in Texas. Stage coaches were unheard of, and travellers on horseback or in lumbering ox-carts required a stout guard. Consequently Father Odin's trip to San Antonio was made in a convoyed caravan of twenty-two wagons and sixty persons.[41] The distance of a hundred and fifty miles through a

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47; *Vie de Mgr. Jean-Marie Odin* par L'auteur de l'Initiateur du Voeu National, Chap. I-VI.

[39] *Souvay Collection*, Rev. Jean Marie Odin to Vy. Rev. J. Timon, July 14, 1840; Odin's *Journal.*

[40] *Ibid.*, Rev. J. M. Odin to Very Rev. J. B. Etienne, Superior General, C. M., April 11, 1841.

[41] *Ibid.*

country infested with Comanche and Tonakanie savages seemed endless. Moreover, the prairies were destitute of water and trees, with scarcely a mesquite bush to shelter the traveler who lay down for a little repose during the excessive heat of mid-day. Father Odin's remark that "we were happy if we found a little hole where we disputed with the frog for a few drops of dirty and disgusting water," gives an idea of the hardships suffered. Fever attacked the party and Father Odin, who was prepared to meet the emergency, tended his unfortunate travelling companions, who, much to his embarrassment, afterwards called him "The Father who knows how to cure the sick." Fortunately they escaped encounters with the Indians and reached their destination July 30.[42]

Father Odin's diary enables one to follow his manifold activities from day to day. He found that religion was poorly administered and little cherished by the faithful. The sick died without the consolations of religion, and confessions had not been heard for fourteen years. The functions of the ministry consisted in baptizing, burying the dead, and celebrating marriages; and for these services exorbitant fees were charged by ungodly professors of religion. The church, damaged by fire in 1828, had never been repaired and was otherwise in a state of sad neglect. Father Odin immediately withdrew faculties from the two Mexican priests. Then he set about repairing and cleansing the church. Curiosity to see the new priests brought crowds to Mass on the first Sunday, nor was it difficult to encourage them to return. Sermons were preached in both Spanish and English; catechism classes were organized; and the Blessed Sacrament was carried publicly to the sick. Two mission churches, San José and Espada were repaired sufficiently for services, which were occasionally held by Father Calvo, the installed pastor of San Fernando.[43]

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] In the records of San Fernando Church, San Antonio, Texas, this note appears: Ego infra scriptus, Vice Prefectus hujus regionis vulgo Texas commisi curam hujus parochiae Sancti Fernandi alias Sancti Antonii de Bejar

Some difficulties arose over Father Odin's strict observance of the church discipline. It had been customary to ring the church bells to celebrate a victory in a horse-race or on the occasion of the burial of a non-Catholic. Shortly after the arrival of the Vincentians on the death of Colonel Henry W. Karnes, a man of high standing in the municipality and in the State, some gentlemen of the town asked permission to toll the church bells. On being told that the rules of the Church did not permit it, they were angered and tried to instigate proceedings for the pastor's removal. Father Odin remained kind but firm under fire, and his enemies recognized that he was acting through a sense of duty. Later reconciled, they became his most devoted friends. With religion thus established on a firm basis, the vice-Prefect began another tour of the country.

Along the San Antonio river he visited about a thousand Catholics, stopping at Seguin, Gonzales and Victoria. His journey along the Lavaca river was particularly consoling, for he found about seventy people who formerly had been his parishioners at the Barrens in Missouri. At Victoria he found Father Estany doing good work and at Browns Settlement the zealous Father Clark of Kentucky. Wherever possible on the journey he said Mass, preached and heard confessions. Late in November Father Odin arrived at Austin, the new capital of the Republic, where he was received hospitably by Alphonse de Saligny, Chargé d'Affaires of France. Mr. Saligny presented him with a gift of two or three acres of land for a church and convent. In addition Father Odin purchased nine lots. He foresaw Austin the thriving center of the State, and planned the church on a stable basis. Since the present churches of Austin are not on the original lots, it is likely that Father Odin realized that he had overestimated the prospects of the city and sold the property.[44]

Michaeli Calvo Sacerdoti Congregationis Missionis à Paulo die 3 Augusti anno 1840. J. M. Odin, C. M., V. P. A.

[44] *Souvay Collection*, Letter of April 11, 1841; Odin's Journal, June 8,

His visit was opportune, for Congress had just assembled. He procured from the legislature an act restoring all church buildings of the Spanish regime. Mr. de Saligny proved an aid by convincing several members of Congress of the justice of the claim. The petition was presented to the House by Colonel William Porter on December 21. On the same day the Senate appointed a committee of three to request Father Odin to act as chaplain until the return of Reverend Mr. Richardson. He willingly accepted and offered prayer in the Senate chamber on the following days.[45]

The unexpected visit of Father Timon in December was productive of happy results, bringing as he did the following letter from Cardinal Fransoni to the President of the Texan Republic:

To His Excellency the President of the Texan Republic:

Most Excellent Sir—As the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith has had many proofs of the extraordinary kindness and benevolence shown by your Excellency, and by your illustrious Council towards Christ's worthy ministers, who from time to time were sent to bring the comforts of religion to the faithful of your country; hence I pray you to receive on behalf of the above named sacred Congregation, great and meet thanks. As you also know that, to provide for the spiritual wants of those Catholics, the Same Congregation has appointed a worthy ecclesiastic, JOHN TIMON, as Prefect Apostolic or Pastor of that Catholic Church, and has associated with him other priests as co-laborers in the holy ministry; hence I also earnestly entreat your Excellency, with the goodness and power so eminent in you, to aid and protect the above named prefect and those associated with him; and that you cause whatever property may belong to the church to be handed over to him, as to the lawful pastor. And, although I feel greatly confident that on account of his worth and virtues he will become highly acceptable to you, and that his holy ministry will be greatly useful to the republic over which you preside with so much glory; nevertheless, I so commend

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1893; *Abstract of Land Titles of Texas* (Travis County). *Comprising Titled, Patented and Located Lands in the State*, Vol. II; The first Catholic Church in Austin constructed under the direction of Reverend Michael Sheehan was dedicated July 2, 1854. Shea, IV, p. 689.

[45] *Souvay Collection*, Letter of April 11, 1841; Odin's *Journal*, June 8, 1893; *Journals of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas*, Fifth Congress, First Session, pp. 318 ff.

him to you, as that whatever benefits you may confer upon him, I and my eminent colleagues will consider as conferred upon us. Further, I profess myself as most devoted to you; and I most earnestly beseech God that he may long preserve and bless your Excellency, and enrich you with his heavenly gift. Most devotedly, your Excellency's,

Countersigned, J. Ph. Card'l. Fransonius

J. Arch'n. Edesson, Secretary Prefect

From the Palace of the Sacred Congregation of the Prop. of the Faith, July 18, 1840.[46]

This document was a virtual recognition of the new Republic by the Vatican. Vice-President Burnet, the acting head of the government during the absence of President Lamar, treated the Visitor courteously, replying with much formality:

Executive Department,
Austin, (Texas) Dec. 24, 1840.

To His Eminence, Cardinal Fransonius,
Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, Rome:

Reverend Sir—I have the honor to receive the very polite and benevolent epistle, which your Eminence has addressed to me by the worthy prefect, JOHN TIMON, of whose distinguished abilities and piety I am well informed.

Although your Eminence and the illustrious Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith are too intelligent to require the advisement, I feel it due to the frankness which should characterize this intercourse, to remark, that a large proportion of the population of this republic have been nurtured in the Protestant faith. But it affords me unfeigned pleasure, at the same time to observe to you, not only that our public institutions are founded upon the freest principles of religious toleration, but that the spirit and the practise of our enlightened people are in full accordance with this fundamental law of our political system.

That there is property of divers descriptions within our territory, which rightfully belongs to the church of which you are so eminent a member, there is no doubt; and I am confident, that whenever it may be properly identified, it will be cheerfully restored to the sacred uses from which it has been temporarily diverted by inevitable events, incidental to the war

[46] Translation in Arthur Ikin, *Texas: Its History, Topography, Agriculture, Commerce, and General Statistics*, p. 78; Garrison, G. P., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, Calendar notes, Vol. II (1), Part II, p. 50.

of revolution. Justice, one of the great attributes of the Deity, ought also to constitute an active principle in all governments; and I trust not to deceive or be deceived, when I assure you that, in *this,* it is commingled with a spirit of generosity and benevolence, which would seek to discriminate only between virtue and vice. With devout wishes that your Eminence may be blessed with many years of usefulness on earth, I have the honour to be most obedient,

(Signed) David G. Burnet.[47]

The bill regarding church property had been referred to a special committee December 21, and a week later it was brought before the House and referred to the Committee of the State of the Republic. The following day the Committee reported favorably, and it was then considered by the House. Messrs. Van Zandt, Mayfield, Porter, and Houston spoke in favor of the grant. The Alamo at the request of Mr. Van Ness was not included. With this modification the measure was carried by thirty yeas to four nays. On December 31 it was introduced into the Senate where General Houston vainly endeavored to put a substitute to reclaim the Alamo. Otherwise the vote was unanimous, and in a joint session of January 12, the bill became a law. Two days later Mr. Van Ness reconsidered his previous action and proposed a reclaiming clause for the Alamo which was passed.[48] Such action proclaimed the liberality of the republic. John Timon and John Marie Odin were not only respected but revered. The former was offered the use of the Senate hall. Attendance was good and interest was evinced in his teaching. Men of all creeds felt honored in rendering them services. For instance: as the prefect could not await the passage of the above bill, Mr. Burnet sent him authentic copies.[49]

[47] *Ibid.,* pp. 78-79.

[48] Odin's *Journal; City Gazette* of Austin, January 20, 1841; *Journals of the House,* pp. 318 ff.

[49] *Souvay Collection,* April 11, 1841; Timon to Archbishop Blanc April 28, 1841, in *Catholic Hist. Researches,* Vol. IX, pp. 88 ff.; the copy follows:

"The churches of San Antonio, Goliad, Victoria, the church lot at Nacogdoches, the churches at Missions Concepción, San José, Espada, and in Mission

Leaving Austin on December 31, 1841, Father Timon stopped and preached at Bastrop, Cummings Creek, San Felipe de Austin, Houston and Galveston. In Houston he again used the old government house. Everywhere there was need of churches. Galveston and Houston were both admirably situated for trade, but due to financial pressure even the wealthiest were in difficult circumstances. Nevertheless committees in both places took steps to build churches. His return to the States led through Huntsville, Crockett, Nacogdoches and San Augustine. This visit of Father Timon to Nacogdoches is thus described by one of the principal men:

Sunday the 31st—rain! rain! rain!!! was introduced to the Rt. Reverend Mr. Timon and the Rt. Reverend Mr. Odin, the first vicar-general of the Pope in Texas, the second the Bishop (that will be of Texas)—two most learned men, they said Mass at the Stone House this morning, and notwithstanding the bad weather there was the largest, and most respectable congregation present that I have ever seen during the performance of the Service. Mr. Timon preached from ( ) and gave an Explanation of the Service, then performing in such a Chaste and eloquent language as perhaps never had been used by any divine in Nacogdoches before; service again in the afternoon, Mr. Timon more eloquent than in the morning, the rain was pouring down in torrents, yet the House was crowded with Ladies, and gentlemen." [50]

In Nacogdoches as in former places a committee was appointed to make arrangements for building a church. Services were conducted likewise in San Augustine. From this place Father Timon crossed over into Louisiana. He had travelled over a thousand

of Refugio, with the outbuildings and lots if any belong to them, be, and they are hereby acknowledged and declared the property of the priest Chief Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church, in the Republic of Texas, and his successors in office in trust forever, for the use and benefit of the congregations residing near the same, or who may hereafter reside near the same, for religious purposes and purposes of education and none other, Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to give title to any lands except the lots upon which the churches are situated which shall not exceed fifteen acres."

[50] *Diary of Adolphus Sterne*, January 31, 1841.

miles through Texas during an abnormally cold winter.[51] Father Odin continued his tour returning to San Antoino after visiting Washington, Independence, Huntsville, Rutaville, LaGrange, Victoria, El Ranchio de Don Carlos, Refugio and Goliad. He estimated the number of Catholics at nearly ten thousand. It is interesting to note that he met many American Protestants who had been baptized in order to secure concessions of land. Regarding these he remarks: "This manner of acting was not the result of conviction; it was only to conform to the law and the greater part received baptism without knowing Catholic doctrine, so I would not dare include them in the number of our Catholics." [52]

The results of the priestly laborers were, notwithstanding the various hardships, quite gratifying. In the short space of seven months, there had been 911 confessions, 478 communions, 281 baptisms, twenty-four marriages, forty-five burials, thirty-one first communions, eight confirmations, fifteen baptisms of Protestant children, and six adults converted. A small chapel had been built at the Ranchio de Don Carlos de la Garza, that of Victoria had been repaired and the church in San Antonio partially restored. Nevertheless there remained much to be desired. The poverty of the country prevented the building of chapels at Galveston, Houston, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Lavaca and Austin.

The missionary's lot was no easy one. Vividly does Father Odin describe life on the Texas prairies. "In the course of my trip," he said, "I have spent the night in the woods and in the open prairies. I have done my own cooking and yet my expenses are heavy. . . . We are often without a lodging place and are obliged to seek hospitality from Catholics and Protestants and are often compelled to recite our office amidst the cries of children or in the shining sun in the open prairie. In Texas one learns how to be a Missionary. I believed that I had already served as an ap-

[51] *Souvay Collection,* Letter of April 11, 1841.
[52] *Ibid.*

prentice but since my arrival here I see well that I was not even initiated."[53]

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[53] *Ibid.;* from Odin's *Journal* one obtains an idea of the difficulty of travel in Texas in 1840. The following note gives an expense account of three months:

EXPENSES.

For changing horses, Texas notes,	$30.00
To a Mexican	6.00
Beyond LaGrange for one night	18.00
For night's lodging	8.00
For one pair of boots	30.00
For two day's lodging at Austin	36.00
Hauling baggage	4.00
Lent Joseph Berry	30.00
Two lots in the town of Austin	280.00
For a candle, sperm	1.75
Advance on lot	20.00
For postage	1.00
Advance on six lots	86.00
Advance on lot	10.00
For snuff	3.00
Washing sixteen pieces	8.00
For a candle	1.75
For four sketches	20.00
Paid to Mr. Settle	9.00
For a flannel shirt	19.00
Mending coat	6.00
Wine	5.00
Horse feeding	61.00
For horses at Thompson's	30.00
Rent of a room for chapel	20.00
To an Irishman for corn	4.00
To Burnett for night's lodging	15.00
To a negro for crossing Cypress	11.00
On Little Cypress for dinner	12.00
On Spring Creek for lodging	12.00
At Montgomery, night's lodging	30.00
At Huntsville, night's lodging	24.00
At Cincinnati, crossing Trinity	4.00
Beyond Trinity, night's lodging	18.00
At Crockett for night's lodging	30.00
For crossing Nachez [Neches]	4.50
At Bradshaw's, night's lodging	24.00
Night's lodging at Butler's	12.00

When the Prefect-Apostolic left Texas he requested Father Odin to return to the Barrens in May 1841 in order to perfect arrangements for the Texas mission. To this end the latter embarked from Galveston April 13. Imagine his surprise on arriving at New Orleans to be presented with papal bulls appointing him coadjutor Bishop of Detroit. Bishop Blanc wanted to consecrate him immediately, but the humble priest protested. As was his wont he left the decision of the matter in the hands of his superior and friend, Father Timon, whose judgment was characteristic: "Good men can easily be found for the bishopric of Detroit when things are already in a prosperous way, but it would be difficult to find a competent person now to take so poor and difficult a post as yours in Texas; hence I think it more for the glory of God and the good of souls that you send back the bulls and return to your post." [54]

Father Odin joyfully returned to the mission field of Texas, but in the summer of 1841 that country presented sad prospects. Money was scarce; the people were in low spirits; some of the emigrants returned to the States; crops failed on the Colorado and in the North, and an epidemic prevailed on the Brazos, Colorado and Trinity. As yet amicable relations had not been reached between Texas and Mexico. The former cordiality for priests seemed to have worn off, as Father Odin frankly revealed to his superior: "I perceive that we are all unwelcome guests in every house, if our stay is beyond a few days. To speak to you candidly I think it will never do for us to pretend to leave our priests at the charity of lay people. . . . The cold reception you meet with, the small piece of bread they seem to regret to give you, all this is enough to discourage any man." [55]

The Reverend N. Stahle who had accompanied the Prefect-Apos-

Two men to accompany me to San Antonio.....	96.00
For provisions and corn on the road from Victoria to San Antonio	30.00

[54] Deuther, *Life of Timon*, p. 85.

[55] *Souvay Collection*, Letter of July 16, 1841.

tolic the previous December returned discouraged with hardships to the United States. Adversity strengthened Odin and his stout co-laborers, Fathers Estany, Calvo, Clark and Hayden. Now that the possibility of finishing the church in Galveston seemed remote Father Odin made a tour of the country for two months. Three more were occupied in repairing the church of San Fernando in San Antonio. Yet there were consoling features. Everywhere the good wrought by the lone missionaries was visible. One of those indefatigable laborers succumbed under the burden: Reverend George Hayden, the saintly young priest from Kentucky, gave his life at the mouth of the San Jacinto river two hundred miles from his confrères in October of 1841. He had travelled unceasingly, visiting scattered Catholic families. In any parish his demise would have been felt, but in Texas it was a keen loss.

On February 6, 1842, Father Odin returned to Galveston to find St. Mary's Church completed, a structure fifty feet by twenty-two feet. The cost was nine hundred dollars of which seven hundred was paid by the pastor. He charitably excused the people on the ground of poverty, not bad will, for their small offering.[56] But there was more than a completed church awaiting the vice-prefect; he found letters from Bishop Blanc summoning him to New Orleans. The explanation is given in a letter to Father J. B. Etienne, procurator-general of the Congregation of the Mission:

> I am writing from New Orleans. His Holiness has refused to accede to my wishes, and the Bulls which I sent back to Rome were expedited anew and arrived here the eleventh of last October. The letters of His Eminence Cardinal Fransoni were so insistent, and the desire of our Holy Father so formal, that I could not refuse a second time. Despite all the repugnance that I had shown, I had to make the sacrifice and accept a burden almost unbearable and far above my strength. I was consecrated by Mgr. Blanc, assisted by Mgrs. Portier and Chanche, on the sixth of March in the Cathedral of this city. Pray for me and have prayers said that I may obtain the graces I need to carry this new burden and to fulfill the duties confided to me.[57]

[56] *Souvay Collection*, Odin to J. B. Etienne, February 7, 1842.
[57] *Ibid.*, Letter of March 28, 1842.

CHAPTER IV

The Period of the Vicariate Apostolic

In May 1842, when Bishop Odin entered Texas as Vicar Apostolic, he faced circumstances that would have daunted an ordinary man. If 1841 had been distressing, 1842 was even more. The extremely dry weather boded ill for the farmer. Business was at a standstill. Moreover, Mexico which had never recognized Texan independence sent an invading army under General Woll [1] which penetrated to San Antonio. In the ancient town the general interfered with political and ecclesiastical affairs. The worthy priest Father Calvo was deposed, and the disreputable de la Garza was reinstated.[2] But this order was only short-lived for the Mexicans were compelled to retreat. But the volunteer corps raised to oppose the invaders caused as much trouble. Incited too by war among the whites the Indians took occasion to renew their depredations. All these evils retarded the advance of church affairs.

Bishop Odin did not hesitate but in spite of the adversities of his flock busied himself with many things. His time was so divided as to enable him to care for Galveston, Houston and the Brazos district, where fortunately the churches were completed, though in Galveston and Houston they were inadequate to seat Catholics and Protestants who were attracted to services. On September 19, 1842, Galveston was visited by a tidal wave, but fortunately the loss of lives was not great. Property losses were severe, including the Catholic and the Episcopalian churches.[3]

[1] General Adrian Woll was a Frenchman by birth. He came to America in 1816 and assisted the Mexicans in their struggle for independence. After 1821 he was a regular commissioned officer of the Mexican army and entered Texas under one of the divisions of Santa Anna's army in 1836. Although not engaged in the Battle of San Jacinto he immediately entered Texan lines and was detained for a time as a prisoner. After his release he returned to Mexico. Hence his inroad into Texas in 1842.

[2] John Henry Brown, *History of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 230.

[3] Odin's *Journal*, June 22, 1893.

If an increased population can be regarded as an omen of prosperity, then 1843 opened auspiciously for Texas. Under the Lamar colonizing laws of 1841 as formerly under the Mexican regime special land privileges were extended to colonizing parties. The names of Peters, Fisher, Miller and Prince Solms are to be found on the list of contractors; but foremost among successful empresarios of the new order stood Henry Castro, a Frenchman.[4]

In 1842 Castro contracted to settle two thousand families in Texas. At the same time President Houston appointed him Texan consul-general in France.[5] In this double capacity he sailed for his native land. Early in January 1843 the "Ebro," the first of his colonizing vessels, appeared off Galveston island. The passengers, 117 in number, effected a landing January 9. Several days later many of these re-embarked for Port Lavaca intending to proceed thence to San Antonio. Other families chose Houston as their home. Among the immigrants were many Catholics,[6] but where were priests to be found to care for them?

Anxious as Bishop Odin was to supply the spiritual wants, he never swerved from the principle that the missionary must be first of all a zealous priest. An illustration of this is noted when in 1843 a Missouri priest expressed a desire to labor in the new Republic. Writing to Father Timon, Odin referred to the request: "Do me the favor to inquire about him, and if you think he will suit for this mission send him on by the first boat. . . . Let him know that the country is extremely poor, and that zeal, pure disinterested zeal, should prompt him to dedicate himself to this mission."[7] On March 29, 1843, Bishop Odin left Texas to attend the

[4] Castro, born in France in 1786, on the fall of Napoleon came to the United States, taking out citizenship papers in 1827. Brown asserts that Henry Castro's achievement was greater than that of the colonizer in 1822. He encountered greater dangers from a Mexican frontier and from Indians than the earlier colonizers. In all he introduced 5,000 colonists.

[5] See Castro, Henri, *Le Texas*, p. 21.

[6] Odin's *Journal*, June 22, 1893; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, January 25 1843.

[7] *Souvay Collection*, February 1, 1843.

fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore. At its conclusion the prelate visited in Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nazareth, Bardstown and St. Louis. Once more in Missouri, Msgr. Odin served his old parishioners of the Barrens, St. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau.

When the Vicar Apostolic returned to his province in December he noted that the faith was in no way weakened. During his absence the German immigration had increased and while the newcomers were principally going to Bexar some remained in Galveston. Of 129 recent arrivals from Antwerp all but four or five were Catholics. He found awaiting him in Galveston two badly needed priests from Strassburg, Fathers Schneider and Oje.[8] He soon perceived that Father Schneider was not physically suited for the hardships of the missions and urged him to go to the States. But Odin's difficulty lay in procuring English-speaking priests for Galveston, Houston and other places. In a pathetic appeal to Father Timon he wrote: "Every day almost I receive letters inviting me to visit places where Catholics are becoming more numerous and have children growing up unbaptized and destitute of religious instruction; but alone as I am what can I do?"[9] In 1844, there arrived Fathers Paquin and Brands[10] of the Congregation of the Mission. Leaving them in charge of Galveston and Houston, the bishop set out in June on a visitation with Father Oje whom he intended for the Germans at Bexar. Stops were made at Houston, at several places on the Brazos, Lavaca, Columbus and Seguin. Late in July they arrived in San Antonio where arrangements were immediately made for catechism classes in German, French, English and Spanish. An important feature

[8] *Ibid.*, December 31, 1843. These two priests as Bishop Odin later found out left Strassburg without an exeat from their bishop. Father Schneider withdrew early in 1844. Father Oje remained in Texas for a year at least. Later his name is listed among the clergy of the diocese of New Orleans. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1847-1849.

[9] *Ibid.*, April 16, 1844.

[10] Odin's *Journal*, July 29, 1893.

of the tour was the laying of the cornerstone for a church in Mr. Castro's colony. To the document attesting the deed, Bishop Odin signed—Castroville, September 12, 1844. The name thus coined was unanimously adopted by the colonists.[11]

Absent five months, Bishop Odin returned to Galveston early in December. He found that both priests had been attacked by yellow fever and that Father Paquin had succumbed to its ravages.[12] Aside from this loss the church had progressed. Almost all western Texas had been visited and the general results were gratifying. There had been a few baptisms and sixty confirmations. Confessions numbered 2774 and communions 2507, or twice as many as in 1843. The missionaries, Fathers Calvo, Estany and Clark, were untiring in their efforts and their people responded generously.[13]

Bishop Odin in order to meet the growing demand for priests turned to his native land to solicit help, as the bishops of the United States had found necessary. Doubtless there lingered in his mind the thrill that had been awakened in his heart years before when listening to Bishop Dubourg plead for the Louisiana missions. Confiding the care of eastern Texas to the Reverend John Brands, C. M., the bishop left Galveston February 26, 1845, stopping at New Orleans, Mobile, Montgomery, Augusta, Charleston, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. Before sailing he learned that his vicariate had undergone a political change and that he was now a prelate of the United States. Landing in London after a three weeks' voyage he hastened to Maynooth College, Ireland, to make his first appeal for the Texan Missions.[14]

[11] A. J. Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, p. 136; *Souvay Collection*, Letter of December 11, 1844.

[12] *Souvay Collection*, Bishop Odin to Father Rousselon, September 22, 1844, to Father Timon, December 11, 1844.

[13] *Ibid.*, Letter of December 11, 1844; *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1845, p. 179; *History of the Diocese of Galveston*, p. 87.

[14] Odin's *Journal*, July 6, 1893.

From the British Isles he went to France to visit his own home and to seek that ever ready charity for American missions. In the Grand Seminary of Lyons he told a story of a missionary's life. Similar stories had often been heard within the hallowed precincts but the apostolic simplicity of the bishop deeply impressed all his hearers. Six deacons or clerics volunteered to accompany him. To these in particular the prelate explained: "You will not always have wherewith to satisfy the calls of hunger and thirst. Your journeyings will be incessant, through a country as yet but little known, and boundless in extent. You will pass nights on the damp earth, and entire days exposed to a burning sun. Perils of every kind you will encounter, which will try your courage and energy at every step."[15] There were two priests found to undertake the hazardous journey. Both were to labor long and fruitfully in Texas; one, Abbé Claude Marie Dubuis was to become the successor of Bishop Odin in the see of Galveston.[16] There was still another source of supply to which the prelate could turn before leaving Lyons. Since its foundation in 1822 the Society of the Propagation of the Faith had been assisting in missionary work all over the world. The previous year the Texas missions had received 20,000 francs. So it was with a feeling of assurance that he again begged alms. The appeal was not in vain. The society agreed to pay the passage of all the missionaries whom the bishop would conduct to America. For many years to come the poverty of his missions was relieved by its benefactions.[17]

From France Bishop Odin went to Rome where he had several audiences with Gregory XVI and visited Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, who appeared especially interested in his spiritual work.[18] He then proceeded to Austria. There had been

[15] Abbé Domenech, *Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico*, p. 2.

[16] The other was Reverend James Giraudon.

[17] *Souvay Collection*, "Sketch of Giovanni Maria Odin"; *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1848, p. 282; 1859, p. 257; 1860, p. 326; *Hickey Transcripts*, 1852-1861.

[18] *Vie de Odin*, pp. 141-142; Odin's *Journal*, July 6, 1893.

a steady immigration of Germans to Texas since 1843, so with the hope of encouraging worthy religious recruits from that country and likewise of securing aid from the Leopoldine Society he made an appeal in Vienna.

The Leopoldine Society, unlike the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, had been founded principally for the relief of churches in the United States. The largest contributions of this organization had been made to German congregations in the Middle West. Cincinnati had been especially favored, probably because a priest of the Cincinnati diocese had suggested the society's formation. Bishop Odin had written during the previous year to the authorities of this society,[19] but his personal appeal was more effective. He was assured that in the annual distribution of funds he would be remembered. While sojourning in Vienna he also appealed to the Benedictines to accept the care of new settlements forming in his province. No definite help was promised but he left Austria with the hope that his request would be answered.

In Havre on March 20, 1846, he gathered about him his little band of missionaries, now increased to fifteen. Imparting to them his blessing he dispatched them to America. Retracing his steps he went to England and thence to Ireland where he visited seminaries in search of missionary vocations. Here his success surpassed expectations. "Four," he wrote, "will embark after Easter and others will follow." Equally encouraging was his trip to Belgium where he was not only furnished with 500,000 bricks but also their free freight to Galveston,[20] for the construction of a larger church.

After an absence of a year, Bishop Odin arrived in New York April 11, 1846, on the eve of the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore. The council placed the new state of Texas on a suggested list of new sees[21] for the sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff. The

[19] *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, Sept. 19, 1844, Report XIX, Nos. 2, 3.

[20] Odin's *Journal*, p. 2; *Vie de Marie Odin*, pp. 143 ff.

[21] *Metropolitan Cath. Almanac*, 1848, p. 118.

annexation of Texas caused a breach between Mexico and the United States; consequently it was to a country threatened with war that Bishop Odin returned. Fortunately, the burden of caring for Catholic troops was not imposed upon the few priests in Texas. To the credit of Secretary of State James Buchanan, Catholic soldiers were given an opportunity of practising their religion, for ecclesiastical authorities had been applied to for Catholic chaplains. The selection was made from the Society of Jesus: Reverend Anthony Rey of Georgetown University, and Reverend John McElroy of Frederick, Maryland, accompanied General Taylor's army to the Mexican frontier.[22] While stationed at Brownsville, Texas, they aided local priests, administering the sacraments and blessing a few marriages.

War necessarily retarded but did not check immigration, and ships from Antwerp and Bremen frequently had numbers of prospective settlers. Texas developed rapidly. In 1844 there was not a house west or east of San Antonio. In the fall of that year Castroville was founded and in two years had a population of about seven hundred inhabitants, mostly Catholics. About nine miles away the village of Quihi had fifty-five Catholic families. New Braunsfels situated about thirty-five miles north of San Antonio had twelve hundred inhabitants, about one-third Catholics. Fredericksburg, another German settlement, numbered six hundred inhabitants.[23] On the banks of the Red River a hundred Catholic families had located. There had been likewise a decided Catholic increase at Cummings Creek, Houston and Galveston. These were the figures given by Bishop Odin to the Leopoldine

[22] Shea, Vol. IV, pp. 31-32, 288-289.

The Catholic soldiers were estimated at eleven hundred. Father Rey received a place in the staff of General Taylor, from whose acquaintance he enjoyed a high degree of esteem and confidence. He met his death in the vicinity of Monterey. Father McElroy was detailed for hospital work at Matamoras.—*United States Catholic Magazine*, v, p. 343; vi, pp. 549-551, 281-282.

[23] New Braunsfels and Fredericksburg were settlements begun under Prince Solms.

Society, 1846. Though he had seventeen priests, there were but two of German extraction whereas eight were needed. The Leopoldine Society had contributed about fourteen hundred dollars in our money.[24] Even this small amount helped defray the expenses of six students in the seminary at St. Louis, Missouri.

The "Catholic Almanac" for 1846 noted that ten churches and chapels had been erected, four were in process of construction, and two schools had been established, one at Browns Settlement, Lavaca county, conducted by Reverend Edward Clark, another in Brazoria under Reverend James Miller.[25] Eight Ursulines of New Orleans had volunteered to open a school in Galveston, for which the property had been secured. This band under the direction of Mother St. Arsene arrived in Galveston in January 1847.[26] They came in turbulent and impoverished times. Although sustained by the mother community, they endured the hardships of pioneer life. Within a year fifty students had been enrolled, fully three-fourths non-Catholics. Future religious communities of women coming to Texas have found hospitality with the Ursulines.

In 1847 Pope Pius IX in response to the petition of the Provincial Council of Baltimore erected Texas into a bishopric. On March 14, Bishop Odin laid the cornerstone of the new cathedral, Very Reverend John Timon delivering the sermon from a text taken from St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The other clergymen present were the Reverend Bartholomew Rollando, C. M., Matthew Chazelle, Ludwig Claude Mary Chambodout and Antony Mary Charrion.[27]

The five priests who arrived in the diocese at the beginning of the year received the following appointments. Fathers Chambodut

[24] *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich,* Dec. 28, 1846. Report XX, No. 19.

[25] *Metropolitan Cath. Almanac,* 1847, pp. 190-191.

[26] Shea, Vol. IV, p. 289; *Diamond Jubilee of the Ursuline Academy,* pp. 3-4; *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich,* Dec. 5, 1847; *Metrop. Cath. Almanac,* 1848, p. 119.

[27] *Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register,* Mar. 29, 1847, quoting Galveston News, *History of the Diocese of Galveston,* p. 102.

and Charrion were assigned to Nacogdoches and the Sabine river district, which had not known a resident priest since 1834. So successful were their labors that before the close of the year they were able to report a Catholic population of more than eighty families and a church in the process of construction.[28] Father James Giraudon became the co-laborer of Father Edward Clark at Browns Settlement. To Reverend Claude Marie Dubuis was entrusted the mission of Castroville.

Claude Marie Dubuis deserves a special place in Texas history. Physical characteristics as well as sterling qualities of mind and heart fitted him for the life of a missionary. In zeal and assiduous labors he was second to none of the many priests who strove to build up the Church in Texas. There was nothing attractive about the district to which he was assigned; even the barest necessities of life were lacking. Nevertheless from the first day in the community, he became a vital force in its temporal and spiritual life. The church, though completed only a few months, could accommodate only half the congregation. With his own hands he built the little stone structure which still stands as a monument to his zeal. Shortly he welcomed as an assistant the Reverend Matthew Chazelle. It was an unhealthful season and both priests were seized with typhoid fever, Father Chazelle dying. Their dire circumstances are pitifully described in Father Dubuis' letter to Doctor Deschavannes of Fontaines. The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith relate how the poor missionary died, deprived of the necessities of life—without even a bed—and was buried in the wilds of Texas. Only a few brief years were his remains shadowed by the huge cross erected by his confrère, before they were transferred to a crypt under the altar of the church.[29]

Before the close of the year death snatched another zealous

[28] *United States Catholic Magazine*, VI, pp. 165-166.

[29] *Annals*, Vol. X, pp. 124 ff., London series; Abbé J. P. *Vie de Monseigneur Dubuis*, pp. 75-84; *Memoirs of Fifty Years*, by the Sisters of Divine Providence, pp. 7-8.

worker, Reverend Bartholomew Rollando, C. M., worn by fourteen years as a missionary. A marble slab in Saint Mary's Cathedral, Galveston, commemorates his death.

During the year 1847 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith allotted to Texas 25,600 francs; and the Leopoldine Society gave £310 or $1474. A large portion of the money was used to pay the current expenses of the missionaries. The entire income of the missions was about a thousand florins.[30]

Frequently throughout Bishop Odin's correspondence we meet with comments on the favorable disposition of Protestants towards "our religion." Occasionally the contrary attitude was to be found. Such examples were furnished in 1848. Certain lands in Victoria claimed as church property were seized by the Presbyterians, and the court in the case of William C. Blair, appellant, vs. John M. Odin, Catholic Bishop of Texas, appellee, decided against the latter. The counsel for appellee centered his argument on the colonization law of 1825 which provided that in the four square leagues designated for each town "the block fronting the principal square on the east side shall be destined for a church, curate's dwelling, and other ecclesiastical edifices"; and on the legislative act of the Republic of Texas which restored to the Chief Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church in Texas all the churches "with outbuildings and lots," which the Church had held previous to the political separation from Mexico. The decision of the case rested on the technicality that the church edifice was never on the lot in controversy.[31] In the municipality of Goliad the Church likewise sustained a loss of property. The bishop, however, settled the dispute without court proceedings by purchasing the property for a thousand dollars.

Aside from these difficulties the Church grew apace. Bishop Odin on his visit to San Antonio in September 1848 conferred

[30] *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich,* Dec. 5, 1847; *Souvay Collection,* "Sketch of Giovanni Maria Odin"; *Metro. Catholic Almanac,* 1848, p. 119.

[31] *Texas Supreme Court Reports,* Vol. III, pp. 288-304.

Holy Orders for the first time in Texas. The newly ordained Father Domenech was assigned to Castroville where Father Dubuis with his assistance was able to open a school and to extend his labors to the settlements of New Braunsfels, Fredericksburg and to the Irish soldiers of the garrison at D'Hanis. Four churches were completed and others were building. On November 28 St. Mary's Cathedral was completed. The occasion was a momentous one for the Catholics of Texas. Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans, long interested in Texas, came to assist in consecrating to divine service Texas' first cathedral. The former prefect-apostolic, elevated to the bishopric of Buffalo, showed his attachment to Texas and to his old friend Bishop Odin, by making the long journey to Galveston. Ten priests were in attendance and a great concourse of people assembled to witness the impressive ceremony. The consecration was followed by solemn Pontifical Mass, celebrated by the Archbishop. Bishop Timon was the orator of the day. Truly it was a memorable day. Galveston has been visited by many storms but St. Mary's Cathedral has weathered them all and stands as a monument after seventy-five years bearing testimony to the enduring labors of pioneer priests and laymen.[32]

[32] *History of the Diocese of Galveston*, p. 103; Shea, Vol. IV, pp. 290-291.

CHAPTER V

The Coming of Religious Communities

Bishop Odin attended the Seventh Provincial Council in 1849, making use of the opportunity as on previous occasions to visit the large Eastern cities to obtain both material assistance and priests for his poor diocese. He had the good fortune to meet at the house of the Sulpicians of Quebec a religious who had been commissioned by his superiors to seek a mission in the United States. The prelate looked upon this incident as a special dispensation and availed himself of the opportunity of obtaining priests. The mission of Brownsville was accepted by the priest, Father Telmon, an Oblate of Mary Immaculate, in the name of his superior, Msgr. de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles. Later in 1849, Father Telmon with two priests of his congregation arrived in Texas. Two of them, Fathers Telmon and Soulerin, were immediately assigned by Bishop Odin to locations on the Mexican frontier while Father Gaudet remained in Galveston.

Brownsville had grown up during the Mexican War around the little American fort on the left bank of the Rio Grande, which on the death of Major Jacob Brown was known by his name. A heterogeneous group of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, Mexicans, Italians, and Germans of the vicinity called the site Brownsville.[2] At the solicitation of this village, Bishop Odin had sought missionaries and fortunately secured the Oblate Fathers. The motives of the townsmen appear to have been rather selfish.[3] The

[1] *Vie de Odin*, p. 149.

The Oblates of Mary Imaculate were founded in 1816 by a young French priest, Charles Eugene de Mazenod, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles. Even during the lifetime of the founder the congregation spread widely. Ortolan, R. P. Th., O. M. I., *Cent ans d'Apostolat dans les deux Hemispheres. Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée durant le Premier siècle de leur existence.* 2 vols.

[2] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[3] *Missions de la Congregation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée,*

first Mass, December 8, 1849, was well attended as many had come through curiosity. The sermon, which treated of the extraordinary prerogatives of the Mother of God, was a subject so foreign to most of that crowd that thereafter their attendance was poor. A few Mexicans came to Mass but religion among them was moribund. Four times in four months had the Fathers been compelled to change their habitation, and thrice the wretched quarters alloted for a chapel. Lieutenant Julius P. Garesché of the American army was their only friend. At last they succeeded in building a small chapel. Their finances were exhausted and their labors seemed fruitless, so when their Superior General became aware of conditions he withdrew them. Father Soulerin returned to Canada and Father Telmon went to France.[4]

The diocese again suffered the loss of two young clergymen, a desperate loss in a field so extensive and so destitute. Reverend James Fitzgerald, one of the volunteers from Ireland, ordained at the express wish of Bishop Odin, labored two years in Houston. He was later pastor of Victoria, doing valiant service when death called him, July 28, 1849. In less than two months Reverend Anthony Charrion died at twenty-seven years of age. He had served but two years in Nacogdoches and the surrounding territory. The following year Reverend Father Jacobs succumbed of cholera at Indianola.[5]

On his visitation of the diocese in 1850, Bishop Odin spent seven months in constant travel. On account of the large Mexican population along the Rio Grande he remained several days in each settlement. He was convinced that the Catholic faith could not survive long unless additional priests were obtained; accordingly

Letter of R. P. Soulerin to P. Gaudet, dated March 20, 1850. Vol. III, pp. 64-65.

[4] *Ibid.*, Extract of a letter of R. P. Telmon to P. Gaudet, dated April 3, 1850; Robert Cooke, O. M. I., *Sketches of the Life of Mgr. de Mazenod*, Vol. II, pp. 4-6.

[5] *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1850, p. 218; Shea, Vol. IV, p. 292; Odin's *Journal*, July 13, 1893.

he set out for Europe the next year in search of more volunteers. He was especially hopeful in interesting religious communities, for then the missionary supply would be constantly replenished.[6]

Bishop Odin had never resigned himself to the withdrawal of the Oblates; consequently while in France, he laid before the Bishop of Marseilles, Charles Mazenod, Superior General of the Order, the spiritual needs of his vast diocese. Fully appreciating Bishop Odin's motives and touched by the sentiments of esteem that the Texan prelate held for the Oblates, Bishop Mazenod made arrangements to establish two houses in Texas, one at Galveston and another in Brownsville. The Fathers were likewise charged with a college and seminary to be established as soon as possible. Bishop Odin agreed to donate the land for their respective establishments and to find the travelling expenses of six priests and two lay brothers from Marseilles to Texas.[7]

When Bishop Odin had visited Europe in 1845 the idea of establishing a college in San Antonio had been suggested to him. He was more interested because he had four acres of land around the Alamo for a site and the advantages of a school for Mexicans were apparent. Then too, the American and German population was increasing. His chief difficulty would be in procuring a faculty. Abandoned for a time, the project was never lost sight of. Therefore in 1852, on his "ad limina" visit to Rome, he stopped at Bordeaux to solicit assistance from the teaching Brothers of Mary. They were not ready to undertake the task, yet Bishop Odin, schooled in perseverance and reverses, was not lightly turned aside. Returning from Rome, he again renewed his request so earnestly that the superior introduced him to the council, where pathetically and eloquently he presented his cause, moving that body to grant

[6] Shea, Vol. IV, p. 290; Odin's *Journal.*

[7] *Archives of Oblate Fathers,* San Antonio, Texas. Arrangements arrêtés entre Monseigneur Charles Joseph Eugéne de Mazenod évêque de Marseilles et Superieur General de la Congregation des Oblates de Marie Immaculée d'une part, et Monseigneur Jean Marie Odin, évêque de Galveston, Etat de Texas dans l'Amerique de Nord, d'autre part.

his petition. Four brothers were promised, three from France and the other from the college of the Brothers of Mary in Dayton, Ohio.[8]

Another plan which was frustrated on his former visit met success on this occasion. He had applied for Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, but the superiors did not feel that they could spare the necessary nuns at the time. In his disappointment he had asked Father Timon if it "would not be preferable to obtain the Sisters of (Nazareth) Kentucky?"[9] On this visit to France, he determined to seek aid from some cloistered community, eventually turning to the religious of the Incarnate Word and the Blessed Sacrament at Lyons. In answer four Sisters volunteered for the distant missions. As the Ursuline community in San Antonio had met with such generous patronage that the number of nuns was insufficient, he asked for more nuns for this community. A nun of Brignole, France, and two from Waterford in Ireland, offered to join the Texan community for five years.[10]

French religious had ever been generous in entering foreign missions, but Bishop Odin also sought aid in Germany. In 1845 his application for Benedictines to care for the numerous German Catholics in Texas had failed, so that this time he asked for the sons of St. Francis in the Monastery of Oggersheim in Bavaria from whom he received a willing response. Four Conventual Franciscans accepted the call.

In his desire for religious, Bishop Odin had not lessened his efforts to procure more secular priests. He visited seminaries in Italy, France, Germany and Ireland, and his zeal was requited by the enlistment of eighteen young clerics. In March 1852, the band of heroic souls—six Oblate Fathers and one lay brother, four nuns of the Incarnate Word and the Blessed Sacrament, three Ursulines,

[8] *Souvay Collection*, Bishop Odin to Father Timon, Aug. 8, 1845; Brother John E. Garvin, S. M., *The Centenary of the Society of Mary*, p. 190.

[9] *Souvay Collection*, Letter of Aug. 1, 1845.

[10] Parisot, *Reminiscences*, p. 5; Parisot and Smith, *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio*, p. 119.

three Brothers of Mary, and eighteen seminarians—departed from Havre, France.[11] Bishop Odin gave the little party his farewell blessing, being compelled to remain longer in Europe.

After a wearisome journey of over fifty days, the missionaries landed at New Orleans.[12] The seminarians were sent to the Barrens, Missouri, to complete their theological studies and await the bishop's call to pastoral duties. The nuns proceeded to Galveston, where they were welcomed by the Ursulines, and the priests were received at the episcopal residence, a frame building of seven or eight rooms, which mirrored the poverty of the diocese. The Brothers of Mary after a short sojourn in Galveston, proceeded to San Antonio, where they were hospitably received by Miguel Calvo, C.M., pastor of San Fernando Church.

Bishop Odin returned in time for the first Plenary Council of Baltimore which opened its sessions May 6, 1852. With the increase of priests in his diocese, Bishop Odin lost his faithful pioneer Fathers of the Congregation of the Missions, who withdrew from every field as soon as the diocese was able to provide itself with other clergymen, reserving for themselves the unbroken grounds of new missionary areas.

The mission of Brownsville in the eighteen months since the retirement of the Oblate Fathers had witnessed an increase in its American and Mexican population. After the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the Mexicans had returned in such numbers to Texas that Bishop Odin in his visitation tour had to spend three months along the Rio Grande ministering to the wants of the people. A small chapel was enlarged to meet the immediate needs, and a convent for the Sisters of the Incarnate Word and the Blessed Sacrament was commenced. So extensive was the field that the good missionaries learned the truth of all hardships of which Bishop Odin had spoken. Ceaseless were the journeyings up and down the Rio Grande through the cold and heat, frequently with

[11] Parisot, *Reminiscences*, p. 5.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 6; Parisot-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

only the "moist earth" as a bed. The people were on scattered farms and ranches quite inaccessible. Outside of Brownsville the religious received no remuneration. Their success depended in no small measure on the beneficence of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which contributed to the current expenses of the missions for more than a decade.[13] The Oblates assigned to Galveston were entrusted with the parish and missionary work. Early in 1853 Reverend P. F. Parisot was sent to visit eastern Texas which because of the shortage of priests had been rather neglected. There Father Parisot found Catholics who had not seen a priest in twenty years, and communities in which there was not a single Catholic. The matter of erecting a college was immediately considered; though the bishop had struggled, his resources, even with the aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, were so inadequate that he thought seriously of giving up the work until better times. At the suggestion of Father Parisot, however, the bishop allowed him to take up a subscription from the wealthy planters of Louisiana, to which Archbishop Blanc readily consented. This energetic collector met with such a gratifying response that the college of the Immaculate Conception was ready for classes in November, 1854. At first the number of students was limited to forty, but before the close of the year the enrollment increased to eighty-three. For three years Fathers Vignolles and Parisot taught successfully in the college, when rearrangements between the superior general and Bishop Odin caused their withdrawal for missionary posts, leaving the college without a faculty.[14]

Meanwhile the Brothers of Mary established themselves in San

[13] Even in our own day the Oblate missionary traverses that vast territory along the Rio Grande on horseback. *Hickey Transcripts*, April 15, 1852; Apr. 15, 1853; May 1, 1854; Apr. 16, 1855; Apr. 14, 1856; Apr. 24, 1857; May 1, 1858; May 7, 1859; Mar. 27, 1860; Apr. 10, 1861; Apr. 10, 1861. The allocation of the missionaries from the Society extend beyond this date.

[14] Parisot, *Reminiscences*, p. 18; *Ibid.*, p. 37; *Hickey Transcripts*, Extract from a letter of the Oblates to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, May 1, 1858.

Antonio. Brother Edel of Dayton had been chosen as the superior of the new foundation, because of his acquaintance with American life and methods. With the assistance and advice of Mr. Twohig, a Catholic banker of San Antonio, Brother Edel purchased a favorably situated piece of land on the bank of the San Antonio River. There a building of four rooms was erected. At first sight the task appeared singularly unpromising, and if their labors had been confined to the Mexican population it would have been, but San Antonio was growing rapidly. Castro's Alsatian colonists learning that the brothers were from France immediately patronized the establishment, so that for many years St. Mary's was known as the "French School" and the brothers were always addressed as "Monsieur."[15] In Ohio the German element predominated in the community; whereas, through force of circumstances, the French did in Texas. The enrollment increased to a hundred; and additional teachers were needed. Two more brothers arrived from France, a boarding school was added and Bishop Odin's hopes were being fulfilled. The "San Antonio Ledger" observing the good accomplished by the schools gave editorial expression to its satisfaction:

"We had the pleasure of visiting during the past week, accompanied by Rev. Mr. Dubois (Dubuis), the Academy for young Ladies in this city under the direction of the Ursulines. We must confess that we were surprised to find so large and admirably conducted a school in our midst. The number of pupils at present is about eighty, and the course of study pursued in the institution is as extensive and thorough as that of any like school in the country of which we have any knowledge.

"The buildings are large, airy and beauifully located on the banks of the San Antonio River. To our own citizens we usually say there can no longer be an excuse for sending your daughters from home for an education; and to those abroad, desiring to avail themselves of the advantages of a good English and Classical School, we can say that we know no better institution than that of the Ursulines in this city.

"The large building erected on the banks of the San Antonio River, below the Female Academy, by the Catholics for a Male Academy, is now

[15] Garvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

nearly ready for occupancy, and the course of instruction to be pursued will embrace every branch of academic study.

"The Catholics certainly deserve great praise for their efforts in the cause of education, not only in San Antonio, but in the State at large." [16]

The Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word and Blessed Sacrament, after a prolonged stay in Galveston with the Ursulines proceeded to Brownsville where they were provided with a temporary dwelling by the Oblate Fathers until the completion of their convent; they found employment teaching a few girls from the town and from Matamoras, Mexico. Once the school was put into operation it met with generous cooperation on the part of the inhabitants. The progress of the institution under the wise direction of Mother St. Claire was noticeable and the current newspapers were kind in their announcements: "The Roman Catholic Convent, which has for some time past opened here for the reception of young ladies is a decided acquisition to this place, and an honor to its founder and managers." [17]

The band of Conventual Franciscans from their motherhouse of Oggersheim in the Palatinate arrived in Texas April 8, 1852 [18] consisting of Fathers Bonaventure Keller, superior, Leopold Bonaventure M. Moczygemba, Dominic Mesens and Antony Müller. They confined their attention to the several German communities, some of which were given them "in perpetuum." Father Mesens was entrusted with Castroville where Father Dubuis had nourished the seed of faith transplanted from Europe. Second to Castroville in time and population were the thriving towns of Fredericksburg and New Braunsfels. Previous to 1850 these communities had been

[16] March 17, 1853; see Garvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 155, 157.

[17] *Texas State Gazette*, April 22, 1854.

[18] Hammer, P. Bonaventura, *Die Franciscaner in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamericas*. Hammer gives 1855 as the dates for the entrance of this branch of the Franciscans into the United States, without mentioning their missions in Texas. See *Metropolitan Almanac*, 1853, p. 136; Parisot-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 109; and Letters of Menzel to the Archbishop of Wein, July 5, and Dec. 5, 1850 in *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, No. 23, pp. 78-87.

visited occasionally by Father Dubuis, and then for a year they had known the untiring zeal of Father Gottfried Menzel, a Bohemian priest, who used his influence to interest the Leopoldine Society in Texan missions. After his withdrawal the burden fell again on Father Dubuis until 1852 when it was assigned to Reverend Antony Müller, O. M. C. In 1856 Father Müller was transferred to D'Hanis from which place he attended the several neighboring stations. In 1853 Reverend John Dornseiffer joined the other Fathers in Texas and assisted Father Keller with the German Catholics in Galveston and the adjacent settlements. Ill-health soon obliged Father Keller to withdraw from Texas and he found service in Brooklyn, New York.

There was considerable Polish immigration to the United States in the fifties. Of these immigrants some were attracted to the Southwest and Polish villages appeared in Texas. Very Reverend Leopold Moczygemba, superior since the departure of Reverend Bonaventure Keller, was authorized by Bishop Odin to care for the new arrivals. In order to meet these additional spiritual wants the Conventual Franciscans increased the number of their missioners. Father Antony Rossadowski ministered to the churches of Panna Maria, St. Hedwig and to scattered settlements; Father Alphonsus Zoeller was assigned to Fredericksburg where he also had the care of a school; and Father Moczygemba made San Antonio his headquarters where in addition to assisting at San Fernando's Church he endeavored to make improvements at San José mission with a view to opening a college.[19]

Bishop Odin on his visitation in 1852 remained two months in San Antonio[20] when he became convinced that another church must be built to care for the American and French-German ele-

[19] *Metropolitan Cath. Almanac*, 1857, pp. 249-250. See Registry books of San Fernando Church, San Antonio, Texas, 1854-1859; Hellmann, Othmaro, *Album Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium in Statibus Foederatis Americae*, pp. 86-87.

[20] The registry books of San Fernando show that the Bishop was performing the duties of pastor from September 5 to November 10.

ments. So well pleased was he with the choice of a location made by the Brothers of Mary that he purchased an adjoining lot for a church. Meagre resources prevented any improvement on the grounds until 1855. The number of churches in the diocese had increased to twenty-six and others were in the process of construction. Twenty-five priests were zealously laboring in the various towns where chapels were situated and in addition to his own little settled parish each priest cared for several missionary stations.

CHAPTER VI

An Era of Trials and Progress

The year 1853 brought a dread epidemic scourge to the diocese of Texas. The tidewater region of the Gulf States and of the Mississippi Valley annually witnessed a visitation of the fatal disease, and science had as yet found no means of checking it. On this occasion the death toll for Galveston alone was over three hundred in a population of only six thousand. Among the victims were five priests and a subdeacon, who refused to heed the advice of doctors to withdraw to the interior of the state. A communication from Bishop Odin in western Texas that those not absolutely needed should leave, was never received. At any rate, the fathers remained, rather than desert their flock in the hour of need, and paid the penalty of their service with death. Buried in the plot of ground fronting St. Mary's Cathedral, a monument erected to the memory of the Reverends J. C. Melton, J. Baudrand, O. M. I., J. P. Bayard, G. Metz, J. Dixon, D. O'Driscoll, and E. Hug, shadows their last resting place. The Reverend Joshua Dixon, whose name is on the marble shaft beside his confrères, died of consumption. One of the yellow fever victims, Father Baudrand, O. M. I., assisted at the obsequies of Father Dixon on September 4, 1853. Two Oblate Fathers and Vicar General L. C. M. Chambodut, alone of the priests of Galveston escaped death.[1]

The mode of travel in Texas in 1852 had not advanced beyond the lumbering stage-coach. As early as 1846 plans were formulated for the introduction of railroads, with many warm advocates.[2]

[1] *History of the Diocese of Galveston*, p. 88; Parisot, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Shea, Vol. IV, p. 690. Father Baudrand, O. M. I. died Oct. 1, 1853—*Missions de la Congregation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée* for 1854.

[2] Brown, *History of Texas*, 1685-1892, p. 354; *The Quarterly*, Vol. 5, pp. 350 ff.; *History of the Diocese of Galveston*, quoting *Galveston News*, August 5, 1872.

Several years, however, elapsed before definite steps were taken, when the persistent and persevering efforts of General Sidney Sherman brought to consummation the first plans. Sidney Sherman, a native of Marlborough, Massachusetts, came to Texas by way of Newport, Kentucky. In 1835, when Texas called for volunteers, the General in command of a volunteer corps under commission of Kentucky found it easy to raise troops for Texas. And this he did. Before the battle of San Jacinto he was spoken of as a possible substitute for General Houston. In the battle entrusted with the extreme left wing, he was the first to strike the enemy. To his soldierly ability no small credit for victory was due.

Leaving in 1837, he returned the following year with his family to make Texas his permanent home. He was elected representative from Harris county in 1842. About 1846 he conceived the rebuilding of Harrisburg which had been destroyed by Mexican troops in 1836. To this end he purchased large interests in the former site and four thousand acres of adjoining land. Returning to Massachusetts, he endeavored to interest Boston capitalists in a railroad from Harrisburg westward. With much difficulty, because few were willing to invest in a practically unknown country, he succeeded in forming a company. With unabated perseverance all obstacles were surmounted, and in 1853 a few miles of the pioneer road were built. The next ten years saw its slow extension. Naturally railroad facilities aided the missionary work of the priests and the railroad laborers under the Catholic builder were largely immigrant Catholics. Hence the number of Irish and German communicants increased, especially in the resultant railroad towns.

In the early years of Texas there was little party life.[3] The question of annexation presented an issue which divided men into anti-Americans and Annexationists. The faction opposed to Amer-

[3] Wooten, *History of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 36-37; Winkler, E., *Platforms of Political Parties in Texas*, pp. 37 ff.; F. W. Johnson, *History of Texas and Texans*, pp. 521-523.

ican union was known as the Whig party, the other as the Democratic. Nevertheless, for nearly a decade once the annexation issue was closed, the party lines were not drawn. In 1852 the Democrats met in Austin in their first state convention and announced a definite program based on the national platform of 1848. Delegates were appointed to the national convention, and General Sam Houston was proposed as a favorite son candidate for the presidency. The Whigs followed with a program in the Eastern and Western congressional district.

A new element, however, brought party alignment among Democrats.[4] This was the secret political organization introduced into the State of Texas, late in the year 1854, known as the Know Nothing or American party. The political tenets of this party were, principally, opposition to foreigners and opposition to Roman Catholics. Before any danger from the party had been apprehended it had carried the elections in various parts of the State, particularly in San Antonio, a Catholic centre. From the newspapers one gains a fair view of how the battle raged. Sixty-one current journals in Texas were divided as follows: thirty-two Democratic, twelve Know Nothing, twelve Independent, four religious, one literary. The outstanding newspapers were the "Texas State Times," chief organ of the Know Nothings, and the "Texas State Gazette" of the Democratic party. The German defense was taken care of by the "San Antonio Zeitung" and the "New Braunsfeller Zeitung."

The foremost men of the State were to be found in either party. Anson Jones, Ashbel Smith, John Reagan, Francis Lubbock, and others stood opposed to General Sam Houston the leader of the Know Nothings, doing valiant work for toleration and fairness. Houston's adhesion to this party was due, as he himself declared in the United States Senate, to the fact that the Democratic party advocated the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to which he

[4] *The Texas State Times* (Austin), January 6, 1855; *The Texas Almanac*, for 1857.

was opposed. As a member of the party he voiced opinions against the Catholic Church which were hardly consistent with his favorable attitude of earlier days.[5]

On the subject of Catholic rights the "Texas State Gazette" came out in its issue of June 23, 1855, with a statement of the religious privileges granted under the national and state constitutions and in the Declaration of Independence. In the same edition was published the platform adopted at the Democratic mass meeting held in Austin on June 16, at which the following resolution was passed:

> That the true test for qualification for office is the test declared by Mr. Jefferson, "Is he honest; is he capable; is he faithful to the Constitution?" and that any party that prescribes a different test, and requires no positive declaration of principles other than that the candidate is opposed to placing in Office citizens of foreign birth, and those professing the Roman Catholic religion, is not in accordance with the genius of the American Government, and violates all the fundamental principles of free speech, free press, and free conscience, upon which this Republic was founded.[6]

A Democratic gathering in San Antonio declared itself unequivocally opposed "to the principles and practices of this proscriptive, intolerant and secret association."[7] The most complete embodiment of regulations, however, proceeded from the Galveston meeting, where every guarantee of personal rights was reiterated:

> Resolved, That the Democracy of Galveston County have unabated confidence in the wisdom of the declarations of the national constitution that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States"; that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or of abridging the freedom of speech or of the press"; and a like confidence in the wise and patriotic objects of the declarations of our state constitution that "all freemen when they form a special compact, have equal rights; and no man or set of men, is entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges, but in consideration

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[5] *Congressional Globe*, 34th Congress, Special Session, Vol. 41, pp. 76 ff.

[6] *Texas State Gazette*, June 30, 1855.

[7] *Ibid.* July 11, 1855 quoting the *Galveston Civilian.*

of public services." "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust in this state"; "All men have the natural and indefeasible right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience"; "no human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience in matters of religion, and no preference shall be given by law to any religious society or public worship"; "every citizen shall be at liberty to speak, write and publish his opinions on any subject"; "the citizens shall have the right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for the common good; to apply to those invested with the powers of Government for redress of grievances or other purposes"; and "ministers of the gospel, being by their profession dedicated to God and the care of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions" to mingle in political strife. We would render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. As Democrats and Americans we are not only in favor of the eternal separation of Church and State, but equally opposed to any union of politics and religion—especially to arousing a spirit of religious bigotry and intolerance in order to turn the same to partisan purposes.

While the Know Nothing party in Texas adopted the program of the National Council, its theories in actuality were not so pronounced. There were several reasons why the State branch could not be committed entirely to the northern platform. Special inducements had been held out to the foreigner to settle the waste lands of Texas. He had proved his worth in turning the desert into a productive field. Then the Catholics of Texas were in the minority; their strength, based on the United States census report of 1850 was only 6,700 in a total population of 212,592.[8] The position, therefore, of the Know Nothing was built on doubtful logic. Moreover, Catholic viewpoint, as stated by the Archbishop of St. Louis in his pastoral letter, was widely noticed. Charles West, a member of the secret organization and a candidate for the House of Representatives referred to this manifesto in excusing the stand he had taken:

"And *if* the Catholics avowed temporal allegiance to the Pope, then he was against their holding office; but if they were Archbishop Kendrick

[8] The Catholic population was probably three times this amount. The figures were doubtless based on the seating capacity of the churches.

Catholics, who only acknowledged their spiritual supremacy to the Pope then he (Mr. West) was willing that they should hold office, provided they could be elected. But as the question of supremacy seemed doubtful, he (Mr. West) left himself free to judge every Catholic as he comes along . . . ; and that was, that as the Know Nothings had charged the Catholics with disloyalty, it was for them, the accused, to prove themselves innocent." [9]

General Houston found a justification for his attitude in the age-worn charge of foreign allegiance, observing: "The design of the American order is not to put down Catholics, but to prevent Catholics from putting down Protestants. The members of the Order would not, nor do they intend to interfere with the Catholic religion or their mode of worship, but at the same time we are not willing to place power in the hands of those who acknowledge or owe temporal allegiance to any foreign Prince, King, or Potentate." [10]

On January 6, 1855 the "Texas State Times" jubilantly recorded the triumph of the Know Nothing party in the elections of the Alamo City. Quite the opposite was the report when in the following summer the Democratic party was successful. Against the Catholic Church and her priesthood, among whom was Claude Marie Dubuis, possibly the most beloved person in San Antonio, villifications were launched. The public was informed that the ballot box in San Antonio had been placed in the hands of priests, and the question was asked: "Is there nothing to fear, American citizens, from the influence of the foreigners and the machinations of Roman Catholic priests?" [11] The "State Gazette" answers every point of attack, asserting that the successful elections were a proscribed people's answer to injustice, and declaring that the charges against the priesthood were "untrue, unchristian, and uncharitable." A similar attack by the "State Times" against the pastor of D'Hanis met with deserved rebuke.[12]

[9] *Texas State Gazette* July 7, 1855; see Shea, Vol. IV, p. 608.
[10] *Texas State Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1855.
[11] *The Texas State Times*, Aug. 11, 1855.
[12] See issue for August 18.

In the spring of 1856 the Governor of the State, Honorable Elisha M. Pease, in a public address depicted the laxity of the state in the field of education:

"The annual reports of the State Treasurer, as Ex-officio Superintendent of Schools, show that but few counties have organized and established schools as required by law; in most of them the population is sparsely scattered over a great extent of territory, which cannot be divided into districts containing a sufficient number of children for the maintenance of a school, without making the district so large that the school must necessarily be at an inconvenient distance from a large portion of the scholars; this without doubt, has prevented and will continue to prevent, the execution of a law like the present until our population becomes more dense." [13]

Following this statement he suggested that the law be amended in such a way as to impose heavy penalties upon assessors and collectors who should fail to make an accurate return of the number of pupils in their respective counties within the prescribed time. Furthermore he believed that under the present situation a different system of distributing the public funds would give better results. "Let us," he observed, "declare all schools that may be kept in the State, public schools, and allow the fund distributed to each county, to be disbursed under the orders of the county court, to such teachers as parents and guardians of the children may choose to employ for their education."

The American Party through its official organ the "State Times" took cognizance of this speech as purporting to establish denominational schools or as they termed it "Jesuit education," and in garbled statements attacked the missionary societies of Europe:

"Let us examine this subject, everyone setting up a school would draw a per Capita from the State fund. Teachers are abundant in the old world. The Leopold foundation at Vienna, the propaganda at Rome and the Jesuit missionary society at Lyons, France, are all manufacturing school teachers. The Jesuites Solitaires, under the name of the Sisters of Charity, Sisters of the Sacred Heart, etc., etc., would swarm among us

[13] *Ibid.*, for May 31, 1856.

as in other states of the Union. There would soon be a dozen schools where there should be one, and all located so as best to serve the plans of the Roman Catholic Church.

"The consequence would be that easily our American children would be drawn in, and obtain a Roman Catholic education, an education preparing the American mind for the world of despotism." [14]

This storm of protest prevented the passage of any such school law. Nevertheless, a few years later, when bigotry subsided, more equitable arrangements were formulated to give satisfaction to all classes. The outburst was really a last stand of a disintegrating body. Issues of a far different nature were crushing out religious animosities. Political parties of the North were being reorganized with the question of slavery as the chief issue. The South found itself at variance with the forces with which it had been in league, which were now to wreak economic ruin, as they supposed, in the southern section. And thus the Know Nothing party disappeared from society as unostentatiously as it had made its advent.

Only a few cases of violence can be laid at its door.[15] In the fall of 1854 an attempt was made in Galveston to burn the Ursuline Convent. In San Antonio, although the party had a strong contingent, the nuns had no apprehensions. Their safety was due, in no small measure, to the watchfulness of good Father Dubuis. In 1856 a more serious case occurred. The Reverend Antonio Borias, stationed as a missionary at Goliad and Victoria, had through his zeal excited the ire of his enemies and was subjected to brutal treatment at their hands.

The Church, ever a wise teacher in combating the prejudices of the day, used methods calculated to turn away wrath and to dispel ignorance. Thus the Reverend Ludwig Claude Marie Chambodut went through the state on a lecturing tour. One such lecture given in Dallas was in substance "an answer to some of the popular objections raised against Roman Catholics, and an exposition of

[14] *The State Times*, June 7, 1856.

[15] Shea, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 690 ff.; Parisot-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

their peculiar creeds and rites." He explained the principle of papal allegiance which had so often been misinterpreted.[16]

There were signs that the ministers of the Church were thoroughly respected, and that even during the stormy days they fearlessly continued their duties. Contentions had arisen between the city authorities of San Antonio and Bishop Odin concerning the ownership of the Church of the Alamo.[17] The question of ownership was first broached at a meeting of the Board of the City of San Antonio early in January 1850, and the decision of the board was based on the act of the Legislature of the Republic of Texas on December 14, 1837, granting to the city authorities of San Antonio the power "to sell and alienate (in connection with the County Court) such public Lots or Parcels of land as may be within the City's Jurisdiction, and to which there is no Claimant or title." The city charter had been amended in 1838 and the power of the corporation enlarged to permit the city "to sell without and independent of the consent of the County Court." A subsequent act of the Legislature of 1842 confirmed these previous statutes. It is to be observed that no reference is made to the Alamo; yet the city construed the act to include this property to the exclusion of the Legislative Act of January 18, 1841, which yielded and guaranteed title of the Alamo to the Church. While the city was willing to concede that the act had reference to the church building, it held that the adjoining lands were municipal property in fee simple. In 1853 Mayor Devine, holding this view, proposed to the city council a resolution asking permission to lease the property to the United States as a quartermaster's depot. A special committee acted favorably on the mayor's petition and the lease was to become effective July 1, 1853. The records, nevertheless, show that the succeeding mayor did not set aside the ecclesiastical claims. This new council referred the question of

[16] *The Texas State Times*, June 4, 1856, quoting *The Dallas Herald.*

[17] *Journal* of the City Council of San Antonio, B. (Jan. 1849-Aug. 1856), pp. 71-74; *Texas State Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1855. *Texas Reports*, Vol. 15, pp. 539-545.

renting the building to a special committee which was to confer with Bryan Callaghan as agent of Bishop Odin. The matter was finally brought for adjustment to the state supreme court; which decided in favor of the bishop.

Every year Bishop Odin devoted long periods to episcopal visitations, by precept and example encouraging his priests in their arduous tasks.[18] In 1854 his travels brought him to the valley of the Rio Grande. For four months he underwent with the missionaries all the hardships of their fatiguing journeyings. Poor with the poor, more humble than the humblest, but a tower of strength to the weak, he visited the hovels of the rancheros under the scorching sun of southern Texas skies. His days were occupied in preaching, instructing, hearing confessions and confirming. Over a thousand souls received Confirmation. On this tour some discussion of ecclesiastical affairs were held with Bishop F. Verea of Monterey as to whose jurisdiction certain lands along the Rio Grande belonged. The reason for this was that by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the middle of the river was determined as the boundary between the two countries, but the river through its various meanderings frequently changed its course redividing the territory. The consequence is that Mexican territory frequently was lodged on the Texan side of the river and vice versa, each part remaining under its former government.

Bishop Odin's pastoral visits were sometimes attended with grave danger. At one time he barely escaped drowning when crossing a stream in a small boat which capsized. The same year he journeyed along the Brazos and Colorado Rivers, where he found churches being constructed at Brazorio, at Panna Maria (a Polish settlement under the care of the Franciscans), at San Patricio, Corpus Christi and Victoria. Everywhere he found his priests leading self-sacrificing lives of devotion.

By 1855 most of the seminarians who had nobly responded to

[18] Parisot, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.; Shea, Vol. IV, p. 690; *Vie de Mgr. Odin*, pp. 158-159.

the call for missionaries had been ordained. Of these John Claudius Neraz deserves special mention because he was to become a bishop of the diocese. Ordained in 1853, he labored for ten years in the northeastern section of the state. Plodding anew the path hallowed by the first Franciscan friars more than a hundred years earlier, he renewed the faith in the eastern region.[19] As a missionary, he patterned his life on that of Odin and Dubuis whom he was to follow in the episcopacy.

In the fall of 1855 Bishop Odin was again in San Antonio. The records of the church of San Fernando show an increase in the American Catholic population during the early fifties. The possibility of caring for all in the former church was out of the question; and the bishop determined to improve the property near St. Mary's College, which had been acquired some years before. He announced his intention to the parishioners and asked for their hearty cooperation in the worthy project. A subscription was immediately begun and Father Dubuis obtained permission to seek help outside the state. Sufficient funds were secured, and in January 1856, enough progress had been made on the building to lay the cornerstone. Under the careful supervision of the vicar-general work progressed rapidly, and the magnificent and stately structure was completed in 1857. The bishop presided at the dedication ceremonies which were attended by a large gathering of men of all faiths. It was a great day in the history of the church in San Antonio. The following year witnessed the more impressive ceremony of consecration.[20]

With keen satisfaction the Bishop viewed accomplishments throughout the state. In 1855 some thirty-three churches attended by forty priests dotted the landscape in places where a few years before a priest was unknown. The priests were not confined to any single place, but in the words of Bishop Odin, "All have to

[19] Parisot, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[20] Parisot-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 149; see letter from Mgr. Odin to M. Duplay, superior of the Upper Seminary at Lyons, July 12, 1858. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 20 (1859), pp. 340-342.

make long trips in order to carry the consolations of religion to the scattered people of this vast State.'' [21] Everywhere the establishments of the religious communities were giving satisfaction. Their forces were annually augmented by new members. The Oblates, however, in the Rio Grande valley had sustained the loss of another of their young confrères, the Reverend B. Duperray. Their field still remained the most extensive in the diocese. By 1856 there were eight priests ministering in that section, but more were sadly needed.[22] The Conventual Franciscans attended German congregations in Castroville, D'Hanis, Quihi, New Braunsfels, Fredericksburg, and in a number of smaller places.

The years 1854-1855 witnessed the arrival of a number of French socialists. These Phalanges of Fourier were brought in by Victor Considerant, but such communities could not hope to fructify on the soil of Texas. They did not find the Utopias they visioned while living under an aristocratic government. ''Some of them,'' Bishop Odin observed in a letter to his Sister Josephine, ''have stopped in Galveston and have returned to the practice of their religion. I shall send a priest to Dollar [Dallas] where they have founded their colony, and I hope they will return to the true faith.'' [23]

In 1857 Bishop Odin found it necessary to make some clerical changes. Additional help was needed along the Rio Grande and to provide it the Oblates gave up the College in Galveston. Fathers Parisot and Vignolles repaired to Brownsville. Father Parisot was to act in the capacity of pastor to the Americans but had barely announced himself to the congregation when Bishop Odin requested the superior to send two priests to San Antonio. St. Mary's Church had just been opened and priests had to be provided. Father Dubuis was advised by his bishop to retire to Europe for a rest, and in the meantime his position as pastor of

[21] *Vie de Mgr. Odin*, p. 154.

[22] *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1856, p. 297; *Vie de Mgr. Odin*, p. 156.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

both churches must be filled by others. Therefore one of the Oblates, Father Gaye, was assigned to the old Church of San Fernando, and Father Parisot was appointed to St. Mary's with Fathers Stephen Mackin and Michael Sheehan as curates. The Reverend Leopold Moczygemba, a Conventual Franciscan, was placed in charge of the German members of the new parish.[24]

The years 1857-1858 witnessed another disastrous plague wreaking desolation on all sides by its cruel ravages. The mortality in some parts amounted to decimation. In Galveston the schools were closed.[25] Fearful was its devastation among the ranchero settlers of the Rio Grande. The Oblate Fathers, continuously at the bedsides of the sick and dying, through sheer exhaustion became victims of the contagion; Brother Marie-Joseph Garcia, a novice, and Reverend Paul Hyppolite de Lustrac, O. M. I., dying of the dread disease.[26]

In the summer of 1858 Bishop Odin convened his clergy for a pastoral retreat and diocesan synod. "All the priests who could absent themselves from their missions were present," he wrote to Father Duplay of the seminary of Lyons. "It was very consoling for me to see myself surrounded by a good number of excellent colleagues, and I was much edified by the zeal that was manifested during these holy exercises, for their spiritual progress, as well as by the docility with which they accepted the decrees that were proposed." He felt happy, too, in imparting the good news that religion was "being sustained and firmly established amongst the Catholic portion of the population." Moreover, conversions were made, and of a confirmation class of sixty persons in the Cathedral of Galveston, eight were converts.[27]

[24] *The Metropolitan Cath. Almanac,* p. 166.

[25] *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of the Ursuline Academy,* Galveston, Texas, p. 14.

[26] *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblates de Marie Immaculée,* Vol. I, pp. 472 ff.

[27] Letter from Mgr. Odin to M. Duplay, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith,* Vol. 20 (1859), pp. 340-442.

Mindful of the part that education would play in the furtherance of religion, Bishop Odin rejoiced in the progress made by schools, confiding to a correspondent: "The houses of education are in a more flourishing state than ever. Although they have to struggle against prejudice and bad faith, the number of pupils is daily on the increase." The field was enlarged by newly established convents in Laredo and Liberty, the former entrusted to the Sisters of the Incarnate Word and the Blessed Sacrament from Brownsville, while the latter was assigned to the Ursulines.[28]

Of special benefit to Catholics was the singularly just and equitable educational clause amending the school statute of 1856. Under its provisions all schools giving gratuitous tuition were denominated public schools and entitled to share in the school fund. This act regulated the examinations by a Board of County School Examiners consisting of three persons of "all persons proposing to teach in Public Schools . . . and upon finding upon such examination, such applicant properly qualified to discharge the duties of teacher, [they] shall grant him or her a certificate. . . ." It was further understood that schools thus benefited were to be visited and examined by a board who should determine the proficiency and the number of the scholars. Under the workings of this law, teaching religious communities were privileged and found in it a means of reaching hundreds of students.[29]

After the withdrawal of the Oblate Fathers from St. Mary's College, the institution was christened a university, and manned by the secular clergy. Reverend James Miller, a pastor of Brazoria, became president, with Reverend Charles Padey and Reverend M. Beerschneider as assistants. Bishop Odin hoped that St. Mary's would fulfil his dream of a diocesan seminary, but its career was far from prosperous. The number of ecclesiastical students up to 1860 totalled only four or five, and the obtaining of a

[28] *Vie de Odin*, p. 161; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1858, p. 164.
[29] Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, Vol. IV, pp. 996-998; Shea, Vol. IV, pp. 691-692.

teaching staff was most difficult. The Conventual Franciscans assumed charge in 1858.[30]

In the summer of 1858 Reverend Leopold Moczygemba, O. M. C., went to Rome in order to get assistants and if possible to obtain the erection of the American missions into a canonical province, since only in this way could they hope to have order, efficacious cooperation and religious life. The Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, however, would only permit that the Minister General, Salvator Calli, should establish a Commissariat, which he accordingly formed under the auspices of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Reverend Leopold Moczygemba was nominated first Commissary General "ad arbitrium," October 1858, endowed with faculties, beyond the ordinary powers, of appointing guardians and superiors. On his return he brought Reverend Bonaventure Corney, an Englishman, and Reverend Francis Gatti who was named Superior of all the missions in Texas and rector of St. Mary's Church and the College and Novitiate. Of the clerics who came from Europe Frederick Doyle, Joseph Butler, and Patrick Delaney went to Galveston. In January 1859, however, the Very Reverend Father Gatti seeing the impracticability of trying to maintain a college without resources closed the institution. Taking the novices he proceeded to Philadelphia where there was another novitiate. Whereupon the Commissary recalled all the other religious and deserted the missions in Texas, to the dissatisfaction of the bishop. The prelate's dream of a seminary ended; and the college passed into the hands of the lay teachers.[31]

Bishop Odin's tours took him again into the Rio Grande district in 1858, traversing two thousand miles and confirming about 3,413 persons. His ministrations, at the request of the clergy, extended to the Mexican side of the river.[32]

[30] *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1859, p. 122.

[31] Hellman, Othmaro, *Album Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium in Statibus Foederatis Americae*, pp. 87-88.

[32] Parisot, *Reminiscences*, pp. 81-82; Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 692.

The War of Reform in Mexico, 1858 to 1861, was concerned principally with curtailing the so-called privileges of the clergy. Year by year encroachments were made on clerical rights, and written into a series of laws. In 1859 these reformative measures amounted to confiscation of church estates, extinction of monastic vows, civil marriages, and secularization of cemeteries. The last two regulations were intended to deprive clergymen of fees. Those not conforming to these regulations "separating church and state" were exiled and many of the bishops and clergy sought refuge in the United States. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate sheltered in their Rio Grande house a number of such exiles. The Bishop of Monterey spent about three months assisting them in caring for their flock.[33]

While the number of priests in the diocese increased annually, they were still insufficient for the missions. Father L. C. M. Chambodut, V. G., returned in 1858 with a few recruits as did Father Dubuis. The report on the diocese shows that at the close of 1858 there were forty-three clergymen and five ecclesiastical students.[34] Still desiring to enhance the number in the field, Bishop Odin applied to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Vincent in Pennsylvania, but received the reply that all the priests were needed in their own vicinity. Nevertheless with irresistible pleading he won the support of Abbot Wimmer who dispatched the Benedictine Fathers Otto Hermann, Theodore Grunder and Emilian Wendel with four lay brothers. These proved intrepid laborers, and as Benedictines of old, were bent upon making the desert bloom. Fredericksburg was chosen as the site of a seminary and plans for a building were drawn. Moreover, the bishop deeded to them San José mission, where Father Hermann, picturing around its ancient ruins a new "Monte Cassino," purchased near San Antonio six thousand acres of land. The vast projects were not

[33] Herbert I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, Ch. XIX-XX; Parisot, *Reminiscences*, pp. 53-54.

[34] *Metropolitan Cath. Almanac*, 1859, p. 120.

destined to materialize. War and years of drought stayed these dreams. In the face of disaster Father Hermann returned to Pennsylvania, leaving the brother religious to serve in Fredericksburg and New Braunsfels for a number of years.[35]

The Civil War rendered fruitless the contemplated missions of the Franciscan Recollects in Houston. Two friars and two lay brothers had arrived in 1859, but sickness, lack of means, unsympathetic suroundings, and the death of Father Augustin d'Asti destroyed their hopes. At about the same time, Brother Edel of the Brothers of Mary improved the Mission Concepción with the intent of establishing an orphan asylum.[36]

In 1860 Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans died, leaving his place to be filled by Bishop Odin. He was preoccupied with Texas, little dreaming that a heavier burden was awaiting him. In a spiritual way a bright future appeared to be dawning, and he contemplated new ventures for his diocese. A letter written at the time revealed that he was financially embarrassed. "All my projects," he said, "have caused me great solicitude and have plunged me in enormous debts. Nevertheless, I have confidence that Providence, which has always been good in my regard, despite my unworthiness, will not desert me."[37] Worse days were in store for the diocese. Though Texas was to be spared much of the carnage of war, yet economically, industrially and financially she was temporarily ruined. Every enterprise in church as well as in state was crippled.

On April 19, 1861 Bishop Odin received from the Holy See his appointment to the archiepiscopal province of New Orleans. "This

[35] Parisot-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 111; *Metrop. Cath. Almanac*, 1861, pp. 113-114.

[36] P. Bonaventure Hammer, *Die Franciscaner in de Vereinigten Staaten Nordamericás*, pp. 75-76; *Vie de Mgr. Odin*, p. 163. Father Hammer gives the names of three priests and two lay brothers but Bishop Odin says: "Enfin, il y a quinze jours, j'ai introduit les Franciscains Recollets dans un district important de la mission. Il sont venus au nombre de deux seulement, mais plus tard on leur donnera de l'aide."

[37] *Vie de Mgr. Odin*, p. 163.

sad news," he wrote to the superior general of the Lazarists, "so afflicted me that for several weeks I could not decide to accept so weighty a charge. Nevertheless, in spite of my repugnance, I must submit myself to the commands of the Holy See." [38] To separate himself from his dear Texas, from her priests whom he had moulded for the missions, from his works and the flock for which he had made so many sacrifices, were sources of unspeakable griefs; yet he felt that these were all personal considerations, and his noble spirit rose above all thought of self when the glory of God and the good of souls was involved. Texas reciprocated his affection as a non-Catholic writer testified that "every man, woman and child who knew Bishop Odin in those years of trial and sorrow in Texas loved him." [39]

The diocese of Texas passed into hands equally capable, for was not Very Reverend Claude Marie Dubuis formed after Bishop Odin's own heart? Had they not borne the heat of trials and hardships side by side? He was ready to carry on the work. The war over, Bishop Dubuis was ready with additional recruits to renew the spent missions. The decade following his elevation saw an increase in the number of priests and religious. Communities of Sisters were introduced to care for hospitals and schools. Two congregations in particular deserve notice: the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word whose history has just been written and the Sisters of Divine Providence whose services are recorded in the hearts of thousands of Texan children.

When Bishop Odin entered Texas as a missionary priest in 1840 he faced a stupendous task. The faith for nearly twenty years had lain dormant. He was accompanied by two priests and soon found that two others from Kentucky had preceded him by a few months. This expansive territory was forbidding to concentrated efforts and only after a year's travel could the Catholic population be determined with any degree of accuracy. It required a

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[39] Brown, J. H., *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, pp. 103-104.

special act of the legislature before the mission buildings, scenes of Franciscan labors, could be utilized by the restorers of the Catholic religion. The country, on account of difficulties with Mexico, troubles with the Indians, seasons of drought and visitations of fatal epidemics of cholera and of yellow fever, was impoverished. Year by year, he faced the apparently insurmountable hardships. After more than twenty years of labor his works testified his zeal. There were in the diocese forty-two priests, twenty-nine secular and thirteen religious, attending forty-six churches and chapels. Among the institutions there were numbered one college, five schools for boys and four academies for girls.

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